

5,405
WF
News

from behind the

IRON CURTAIN

THE LIBRARY OF THE

AUG 20 1952

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

August 1952

Vol. 1, No. 8.

SPECIAL FEATURE

Flight to Freedom — Pages 30-33

Five Escaped Fishermen Tell of Life in Soviet Latvia

Political

The US: "Corrupt and Barbarian"—Page 1 . . . Political Shortcomings—Page 6 . . . "Mobilization for Defense"—Page 10 . . . The Distortion of Legality—Page 12.

Economic

Foreign and Domestic Trade—Page 17 . . . Industrial Prospects—Page 24 . . . Labor: Shortages, Turnover, and Control—Page 27.

Cultural

The Campaign Against the Church—Page 34 . . . Career by Weights and Measures—Page 38.

News Briefs —Pages 42-47 . . . Fraudulent Resistance . . . Indoc-
trination No Picnic . . . Taking Chances Encouraged . . . Party Line
Rules on Neckties . . . Jungle Law . . . No Development . . . Work-
ers Called to Account . . . Beethoven's Message Amplified . . .
What's Under the Big Top? . . . Hungarian Deportations Resumed.

About this Publication . . .

NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, published monthly by the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is distributed to a limited mailing list of those who have expressed specific interest in events and developments in Communist-dominated Europe. This bulletin is a compilation of material collected by the Committee for the use of Radio Free Europe and its other divisions and is being made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries, and research centers, and to other groups of citizens who want to know more about "Communism in practice." The publication is not an organ of editorial policy; wherever possible direct quotations have been used with a minimum of connective commentary. However, the Committee believes that accurate information contributes to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist system, and hence to the ability of the free nations to combat this system.

About the National Committee for a Free Europe . . .

The National Committee for a Free Europe was founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens who joined together for direct action aimed at the eventual liberation of the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries. With the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee has set up, among other activities, Radio Free Europe. The Committee's efforts are focused on the captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In these efforts the Committee counts among its active allies the democratic leaders—scholars, journalists, political and economic experts, and men of letters—who have escaped from the Communist enslavement of their native lands.

NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN is published monthly (copyright 1952) by the Research and Publications Service, National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc., 110 West 57 Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Material contained herein may be quoted without permission, provided reference is made to this publication. Communications and requests for inclusion on the mailing list should be sent to the above address.

Doctrinal Rhetoric: Exhort, Denounce, Repeat

I. THE US: "CORRUPT AND BARBARIAN"

Communist attacks against the West are characterized by constant repetition. Month after month, Party ideologists repeat the same charges, hoping, that like Pavlov's dogs, the "conditioned" captive peoples will react with automatic hatred whenever America is mentioned. Supplementing germ warfare propaganda, recent Communist diatribes have been devoted to condemning alleged American atrocities in Korea. Editorials describe US torturers as more cruel than the Nazis and unrivalled by any villains in history. To make these accusations more cogent, faked photographs, some of them showing US soldiers clutching the severed heads of Korean victims, are frequently used.

While insisting on US attempts to destroy the world by famine, disease and mass murder, Party propagandists also harp on UN defeats during two years of war in Korea. They declare that the "US imperialists" are hated by peoples all over the world, including the French and the Germans, that the Allied camp is disintegrating, and that US power is on the decline.

Examples of this propaganda appear below. Many of them are tedious and overwrought; to prove the authenticity of their charges, the Communists frequently "protest too much."

On the second anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War, the Polish Communist newspaper *Wola Ludu* (Warsaw), June 25, summarized American defeats in an editorial entitled "The Enemy Has Not Been and Will Not Be Victorious":

"The American aggressors have not attained any one of their goals. Instead, the consequences of their crime have become dangerous to them. . . . [During the past two years] the moral and military weakness of the American Army was revealed . . . to the entire world. The myth of American airpower dissolved. The myth of the American aggressors' technical superiority vanished.

"Contrary to expectations, instead of attacking People's China from Korea and Formosa, the American aggressors . . . completely undermined their position in the Far East. Because of this, a 'Pacific Pact,' corresponding to the Atlantic Pact . . . could not materialize.

"Throughout Asia opposition to the imperialists increases. The Japanese nation, in spectacular May 1st demonstrations, challenged the American occupation. Inside the imperialist camp, the position of the masters of the dollar . . . weakened, and under pressure from their people, the vassal governments demanded the cessation of war operations in Korea. . . . Such are the results achieved by the American murderers after two years of war in Korea."

"Dear Radio Wave"

Much of Poland's anti-West propaganda comes over "Wave 49," a daily radio program devoted to the reading of letters supposedly submitted by listeners. It is probable that this "mail" is actually written by Communist command or composed in the radio station itself. On the July 6th program, the commentator quoted several letters condemning "American barbarism":

"A peasant woman from Brzesc Kujawski writes:

"I have heard much on the radio about the American criminals who have contributed to the suffering of Korean mothers. I want to express my hatred of these murderers of innocent children who are now threatening us with a new war. We mothers do not want a war. We mothers are fighting to keep the plague-spreading American barbarians out of our country. Let us stop these poisoners from [attacking] our Fatherland!"

A letter allegedly written by a coal miner said:

"... I spent three years in a German labor camp in Hamburg. There I witnessed horrible American atrocities when, during a three-day air raid, 100,000 persons were killed. Cultural relics were destroyed and innocent victims burned. I was an eye-witness when the American murderers dropped phosphorous bombs . . . which reduced everything to ashes."

A similar letter read:

"Dear Radio Wave: When I read the news from Korea

I am reminded of Hamburg. The screams of dying children, the bodies of disfigured victims. Then, before my eyes, I see the 'progressive' American civilization—I see Wall Street murderers swimming in the tears and blood of the innocent Korean people—murderers, who, realizing that they cannot destroy the heroic Korean spirit, are now dropping disease germs."

Mass demonstrations and a flood of protest resolutions are major features in every anti-West campaign. According to exiled researchers, these meetings were formerly initiated through more or less secret channels to appear spontaneous. Currently, however, instructions for their organization are widely publicized in the press. Five days before the second anniversary of the "attack on Korea" on June 25, the Central Trade Union organ, *Prace*, published the following directives to Czechoslovak labor leaders:

"The Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions recommended that the largest plant in each region arrange protest meetings between June 20 and 23 . . . with a representative of the Unions as speaker.

"June 25 will be commemorated as a day for the Defense of Peace . . . as a Day of International Solidarity. On this occasion, demands will be made to end the Korean War . . . and to prohibit the use of weapons for mass extermination. The criminals using germ warfare in Korea and Northeastern China will be condemned.

"June 25 is also a day to protest the signing of the so-called contractual agreement and the French government's efforts to oppress the French people's fight for peace and freedom by brutal Fascist methods. . . .

"Workers will be told about the importance of the country's defense. It is necessary to point out that the building of Socialism . . . is our main contribution to Korea, and to the peace front. Resolutions addressed to the Central Council of Trade Unions for the World Federation of Trade Unions will be dispatched from the meetings. Plant councils will have to use all means of propaganda to gain support in this action. Branch secretaries will summon meetings in the enterprises. [At these meetings] the importance of improving the workers' ties with the Army will be stressed."

The Witness

"Eye-witness accounts" of "American atrocities in Korea" are another device used in the Communist hate campaign. One of these allegedly authentic testimonies by a Chinese Communist soldier appeared in the Czechoslovak magazine *Kvety*, June 29, under the headline "Written with Blood":

"In the battle of Lien-cen I was wounded and captured by the American aggressors. I was sent to the PW camp near Chuwan with five of my comrades. [At our 'trial'] we were whipped constantly. One of my comrades screamed with pain. . . . An American murderer . . . forced my comrade's mouth open, poured gasoline into it, and lighted a match to the oil. . . . Unprecedented atrocities are committed daily by the American murderers. . . . One time we were put in a special cell artificially filled with mosquitoes. The camp also has a 'steam prison'. A victim is put into a huge wood box filled with steam, and after his body is boiled, he is

thrown to the dogs. . . . All my comrades died as a result of these atrocities. . . . [I] was freed by a detachment of partisans."

"Lidice Will Never Be Forgotten!"

Party propagandists in Czechoslovakia have recently compared the Nazi devastation of Lidice in June, 1942, with "US destruction in the East." In the June issue of *Mir* (Prague), an article depicting "various but similar imperialist crimes" contained photographs of burning houses in Lidice, Korea, Vietnam, Madagascar and Egypt. An editorial in *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 10, was constructed along the same lines. Entitled "Impossible to Forget," it read:

" . . . Lidice will never be forgotten. In 1945, under the pressure of public opinion, several hypocritical American congressmen asked Truman to declare June 10 Lidice Day. They addressed the right man! Every day and every night Truman is making a Lidice Day for thousands of peaceful citizens in Korea. [By last December] 64,000 out of 80,000 houses in Fenjan were destroyed by bombing. In less than two months, 35,383 men and women in the district of Sinchon were murdered. On October 18, 1950, 900 Sinchon residents were killed; 300 of them were children. . . . Such is the picture of the Korean Lidices, and there are tens and hundreds of them. The American imperialists have the blood of the peace-loving people in Korea, Vietnam, Malaya and Tunisia on their hands. The American killers are wading in the blood of peace-loving people on Koje Island, in Japan and in West Germany. . . . They shall not escape their punishment!"

Quoting the same statistics, the Bulgarian newspaper *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), May 20, wrote:

"After the Americans retreated from the Sinchon district, 35,383 civilians, mostly women and children, were found murdered. The commander, Harrison, had ordered 900 men, women and children to disrobe in a trench so that they could be burned alive with gasoline. Harrison himself took pictures of this mass murder. Another 500 people were ordered into a cave. Then, its entrance was closed off with sand bags and grenades thrown inside. Everybody was killed. Torturing victims by electric shocks, beating them, pouring water into their noses and throats, slicing off their limbs and shooting them . . . [are some of the methods used] by the Americans to destroy Korean nationals."

The Nazis or the Americans?

Another bitter diatribe appeared in the May 13 issue of *Rabotnichesko Delo*, which claimed that in two years of war in Korea "the Americans have transformed the UN flag into a butcher's cloth for cleaning knives dripping with blood":

"[The Americans] ruined this poor but proud nation with tons of bombs. . . . This is what MacArthur called 'scorched earth tactics.' Now, the Americans are trying to make this 'scorched earth' a 'depopulated earth.' The imperialist gangsters are dropping flies, lice and other



IMPERIALISTI AMERICANI CONTINUA RAZBOIUL BACTERIOLOGIC

"The American Imperialists Continue Germ Warfare."
(Taken from the Romanian *Universul*, April 2.)

RIDGWAY



"Prima ministru al Frontei, Ploay întâmpină pe Ridgway de V. TIMOC"

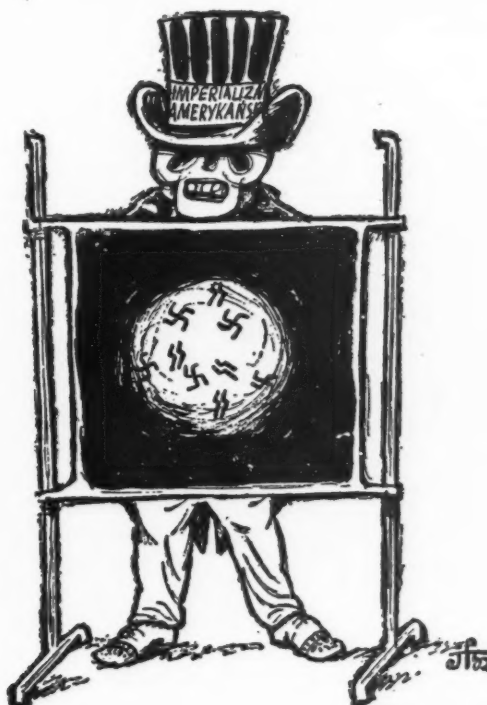
Entitled "Between Equals," the above cartoon appeared in the Romanian *Universul* (Bucharest), March 10. Caption reads: "French Prime Minister Greets Ridgway."

Oglinda istoriei



Taken from the Bucharest newspaper *Contemporanul*, June 27. From a Soviet newspaper. Entitled "The Mirror of History."

DELA EGAL LA EGAL



rys. Jerzy Flisak

PRZESWIECLENIE

The Polish newspaper *Szpilki* (Warsaw), June 29 printed this cartoon depicting an X-ray of "American imperialists."

contaminated insects in order to spread the plague, cholera and typhus. They are also dropping poisoned food, such as zwieback, canned meat and vegetables. . . . How can one not admit that America is a 'progressive' nation when it is the first country in world history to use bacteriological warfare? The Nazis built infamous gas chambers in Dachau, Majdanek and Auschwitz. . . . The question is, which is worse: murdering people by dropping contaminated insects or by putting them in gas chambers? Even Hitler did not dare to use bacteriological weapons. But the Americans did! . . . That is why millions of honest people the world over are cursing America and crying 'Shame.'"

Between June 18 and July 4, Gyorgy Parragi, a leading columnist for the Hungarian newspaper *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), published nine lengthy articles on "American cannibalism" which contained the following accusations:

"[America's policy] is to continue Hitler's attempts at world destruction. The Americans want to annihilate the rest of humanity.

"First of all, they want to destroy people by famine. It is *their* fault that two-thirds of humanity is starving. . . .

"The Americans have deliberately hindered the technical development of foreign countries in order to keep them in a state of semi-starvation. . . .

"In addition to this, with the assistance of cannibal scientists, the American imperialists are spreading deadly epidemics . . . in accordance with their neo-Malthusian theories.

"The Americans consider it a crime that medical science wants to keep mankind alive. . . . We could cite the words of hundreds of American scientists who advocate sterilization. . . . Americans also want to introduce 'birth control' throughout the world in order to eliminate a large segment of society which sooner or later would rebel against imperialist world domination. American science is devoted to genocide—the destruction of the masses."

The Travelling Ridgway

In its June 12 issue, *Zeri i Popullit* (Tirana), the Albanian newspaper denounced General Ridgway, claiming that he will now begin a war in Germany:

"About one year ago, General Ridgway, with his family, a plan of war and a few bags, left for Japan. At this time he was an unknown general, or rather, known only in military circles. . . . After a year, this general went back to America with so much luggage that he needed four trucks to transport his belongings. But it is not the amount of luggage that Ridgway carried that makes him famous; his name alone fills all honest men with hate. Everyone must remember that Ridgway's luggage contains many rings taken from the hands of Korean women whose fingers were sliced off. Within a year, Ridgway has entered the black pages of history. . . . The arrival of the germ warfare general in Paris means that the Americans are going to initiate an action similar to the one on parallel 38. The new 38th parallel will be Germanv. . . ."

"We Have Reciprocated!"

The Satellite press has used Bastille Day to reiterate previous assertions about the French people's hatred of Western imperialism and support of Communist ideals. In honor of the occasion, the Polish newspaper *Zycie Warszawy*, July 13, printed an article on Polish-French solidarity under the headline "Long Live France, Mr. Truman":

". . . During the Tsar's visit to Paris . . . [at the time when our country was struggling for liberation from its Prussian, Austrian and Russian oppressors] a certain Frenchman shouted at him: 'Vive la Pologne, monsieur.' In this indignant, sincere shout, the people's revolutionary France showed its support of Poland's fight for independence.

"In June, 1952, Paris workers listened tearfully to the Marseillaise being sung over the radio by Polish miners in support of Jacques Duclos. This proud French revolutionary song flowed from free and independent Poland . . . over the heads of past and present collaborators. . . . By singing this song, we have reciprocated the . . . cry of that Frenchman. . . .

"Long live France, Mr. Truman! Because France and all of Western Europe is being crushed under the iron heel of imperialism—the enemy of independence, culture and peace . . . the ally of Hitlerite bankers and generals.

"We look with friendship towards fighting France . . . the France destroying the Bastille, never capitulating, the France of Victor Hugo and Pasteur, the France of Thorez and Duclos. Long live France, Mr. Truman and [General] Ridgway. Long live France, Herr Adenauer."

The Bulgarian newspaper, *Troud* (Sofia), June 6, commented in the same vein:

"The fight of French workers against the Fascist Pinay government and for the liberation of Jacques Duclos . . . has the hearty support of Bulgarian workers . . . who are convinced of the French people's victory over war and Fascism. Bulgarian workers know that the French people will never fight against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies . . . but will struggle to the bitter end for liberation from American occupation and for peace and democracy throughout the world."

Attacks against the Bonn agreement have also continued to be featured in the Iron Curtain press. *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), June 6, wrote:

"It is well known that in their war preparations, the American warmongers are counting mainly on German militarism, which they are presently trying to revive. The danger of a third war lies precisely in this fact. That is why the German masses oppose it. And in their struggle for unity and peace, the true German patriots have great allies. These are: the Soviet Union, which has always defended the interests of the German people; the progressive people the world over; and the nations of the Peoples' Democracies. . . ."

"Protect Your Children!"

On International Children's Day, the Communist press conducted a concerted campaign to vilify the "machinations of American imperialists threatening the lives of children throughout the world." The Romanian newspaper, *Scanteia*, June 1, announced satirically that "in the American paradise over two million children are vagabonds." Other "data" used indicts the US as follows:

"While children in the Peoples' Democracies are leading happy lives, in the US over 2,300,000 children are laboring in industry and agriculture. . . . The misery of American families burdened with children is so great that many a parent resorts to acts of desperation. For instance, one worker, no longer able to feed his eight children, shot them all and then committed suicide. . . . But all that matters to the American imperialists is that every child be used to serve their war plans. . . . For this purpose, children are provided with all sorts of monstrous toys which will lead them to crime. Bookstores are filled with comics . . . which extol racial hatred, crime and robbery.

"The Americans have rightfully earned the name 'Child Killers.' In Korea, they kill children before the eyes of their mothers, who go mad with anguish. They sprinkle insects infected with plague germs on babies and drop explosive toys from planes. . . . Raise your voices against the unparalleled atrocities committed by the American imperialists against Korean and Chinese children. . . . In this way you will protect your own children from the tragedy that the American barbarians are trying to spread over the entire world."

The Senator from Peekwall

In the June 18 issue of the Romanian cultural weekly *Albina*, the following story entitled "An American Senator" appeared as a supposedly humorous description of political corruption in the US:

"In the American town of Peekwall an electoral campaign was going on. Speakers asked the people to vote for Senator Winterson. But suddenly, a certain Mapsy cried from the audience:

"'Good people, do not listen to these lies! Senator Winterson is a thief. It is well known that he protected many thieving officials, who would otherwise now be in jail.'

"That same evening, the assistant mayor of Peekwall, who had been present at the meeting, went to see the Senator:

"'Sir, I have come to see you because I heard that you have some pull in the administration. Only you can save me. It has been discovered that I took \$10,000 from the City Hall Treasury. I will give you half of it if you get me out of this.'

"'That's not enough,' the Senator answered. 'Give me \$7,000 and we'll see.'

"The assistant mayor finally agreed. As he was leaving, the Senator asked him:

"'Who told you to come to see me?'

"The man answered: 'A certain Mapsy talked about

you at our electoral meeting yesterday. . . .'

"That same day the Senator sent five dollars to Mapsy with the following letter:

"Dear Mr. Mapsy:

I don't know you but I have learned that you are actively campaigning for me. . . . Thank you and please accept this money. From now on, continue to campaign for me.

Yours sincerely,
Senator Winterson."

Apocalyptic Visions

"Washington Neroes" was the title of a scathing denunciation of America printed in Romania's *Scanteia* (Bucharest), June 17:

"Nero is a pale figure compared to Truman, Churchill, Acheson, Harriman, Eisenhower and Ridgway. . . . The Neroes of our times are not satisfied with the flames that burned Pyongyang and other Korean towns. . . . They can hardly wait for an opportunity to set the whole world aflame. . . . This atomic delirium gives Truman real apocalyptic visions: 'Total war,' he says, 'will lead to the disappearance of our civilization. Nobody can imagine the death and destruction it will bring in its wake. . . .' Madman Nero was the product of a disintegrating society. . . . The insanity of present-day Neroes is an expression of capitalism's fury at its inability to save itself from its destined annihilation. . . .

"Cynically and with criminal refinement, the Neroes from Washington are leading an extensive campaign to spread war psychosis and to militarize daily life. . . . Little John Smith, starting elementary school in the US, is taught the alphabet in this manner: A-Atom, B-Bomb. . . ."

The paper discusses insanity in the US:

"The National Committee for Mental Health in the US recently published some statistics showing that one out of every 18 Americans suffers from mental illness. . . . Deeply concerned, an American psychiatrist advocated that the leaders of the government be placed under supervision. He must have been impressed by the fact that in his speeches Truman considers himself the earthly representative of Providence . . . and that, while in Tokyo, MacArthur and Ridgway thought themselves Emperors of Japan. . . .

"The atomic maniacs and criminals from Washington really have something to fear. Their odious actions and bloody orgies will never be forgotten or forgiven. Today, the forces of peace are better organized than ever before. They warn the Neroes of our times that for madmen, there are straitjackets, and for war criminals, the people's justice will build gallows."

Following Eisenhower's nomination as Republican candidate, the Hungarian newspaper, *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), July 13, published the following attack:

"At the last moment the capitalists dropped Taft, candidate of the 'old guard' of the Republican Party, and sided with Eisenhower. Why? Their instincts told them

that if two such ultra-reactionary candidates as Taft and MacArthur were officially nominated, they would have no chance at the elections. Therefore, they backed Eisenhower, who struck the right demagogical pose, and who seems to be somewhat less conservative. This support of Eisenhower cost millions of dollars; huge sums were spent on bribery, on promises of automobiles, refrigerators, summer homes and lucrative positions.

"Within a few brief moments, the capitalists forgot that for months they had been abusing the General, who, according to them, is a political ignoramus. . . . The conspiracy of monopoly capitalists and Party leaders to fool and disregard the masses is becoming more apparent. The question is—what will the American nation answer to these machinations?"

II. POLITICAL SHORTCOMINGS

During the past month, Satellite leaders focussed their attention on shortcomings in political work, especially within Party and youth organizations. Criticism was open and abundant, revealing to Western observers the difficulties encountered in converting the East European peoples into blind advocates of Bolshevik policy. Common to all regimes were serious deficiencies in mass indoctrination and militant Communism: In Poland, President Bierut made a speech condemning Party bureaucracy and isolation. Peasant membership, he said, must be increased, and "casual" elements liquidated. In Hungary, regime spokesmen decried the influence of the class enemy, and launched a campaign against Social Democrats, kulaks and the church. Failures to whip up hatred against the West or enthusiasm for defense mobilization were subjects of other denunciations. And in Czechoslovakia, as a means of counteracting the influence of Western broadcasts, the radio system was reorganized "into a more effective weapon in cultural development."

The following pages report these events in detail and throw light not only on present problems but also on future policies of the various regimes.

In a long address to the VII Plenum of the United Polish Workers Party in June, President Boleslaw Bierut severely criticized shortcomings in Party organization. Improper social structure, infiltration by the class enemy and bureaucratic tendencies, he said, comprise the main failures. Emphasizing the harmful influence of the latter, Bierut claimed that bureaucracy is destroying the link between the Party and the masses, and pointed up the need for Party militancy. This condemnation of the Party's isolation assumes particular significance in the light of Bierut's later statement that peasant membership is far below the desired number. As quoted by *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), June 23, Bierut defined bureaucratism as:

"... a tendency on the part of Party leaders and functionaries to evade control from below, to evade criticism, [and] to isolate themselves from the masses. It is a tendency to ignore the principles of inner Party democracy, and to loose the constant, systematic organiza-

tional links between the leadership and Party ranks. This leads to methods of issuing commands from above, to providing leadership exclusively from behind the office desk or by means of circulars, to the isolation of Party organizations from non-Party people. . . .

"The basic task of our Party is to impart a Socialist character to our State apparatus; otherwise . . . the State apparatus will infect the Party with the bug of bureaucratism.

"... [Furthermore] if the Party becomes bureaucratic rather than militant, insufficiently tempered Party functionaries will also isolate themselves from the masses and some Party members will acquire bad traits. Instead of resolutely struggling against dignitary habits, favoritism, drunkenness and demoralization, they will themselves become infected with these vices, and, without realizing it, become channels for transmitting the ideological influence of the class enemy. . . ."

Bierut Decries Low Peasant Membership in Party

Bierut pointed out that "hostile elements" have penetrated the Party and must be liquidated. He warned, however, that in purging "alien, hostile and casual Party elements influenced by petty bourgeois environment," the Party must also be concerned with its growth and the "appropriate regulation of its social composition." At present, Bierut complained, the Party's social composition is unsatisfactory and peasant membership amounts to a bare 17 percent:

"Comrade Stalin teaches that the 'strength of the Communists lies in the fact that they are able to rally millions of active non-Party people around our Party.'

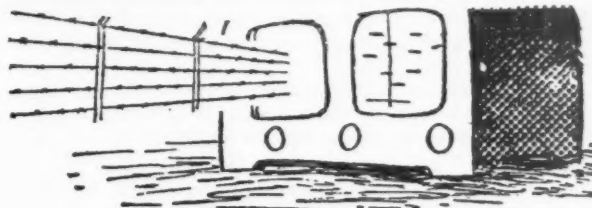
"Is there any need to prove how urgent and how vastly significant these words are for our Party, particularly in the countryside, where Party organizations are developing in complete disproportion to actual opportunities? The number of peasants and agricultural workers in the Party barely reaches the figure of 192,000—that is, 17 percent of the total membership—whereas office employees constitute almost 20 percent of the membership. Of the 350,000 employed on State farms . . . and tractor stations, 40,000 are Party members."

From Bierut's statement that 192,000 people constitute 17 percent of Party membership, total Party membership can be estimated at about 1,129,000. This amount shows a decline since April, 1949, when the official Communist figure for Party membership was 1,368,759; by 1950, it was said that the Party numbered 1,500,000. Exile circles attribute this decrease to several causes: the Communist policy of making the Party an elite vanguard rather than a mass organization; the large-scale purges of Party members accused of rightist deviations (the Gomulka-Spychalski group) between 1950-1952; the Party's loss of popularity since 1950; and the continuous elimination of "bureaucratic, inactive and inimical elements." In commenting on Bierut's speech, an emigré Polish journalist has said that "the decrease in peasant members is a result of the Party's ruthless exploitation of the countryside because of the food shortage":

(Continued on page 8)



"A new American branch of Yak-Yak in Polish was opened in Munich"
 "If you throw in a penny they will sing any tune you want."
 (Taken from *Szpilki* (Warsaw), June 15)



"Hello, this is Radio 'Free Europe' speaking."
 (Taken from *Szpilki* (Warsaw), June 15)



"Here are the microphones of Free Europe. . . ."
 (Taken from *Sztandar Młodych* (Warsaw), July 1)

Attacks Against Radio Free Europe

On May 3, an expanded Radio Free Europe station, "Voice of Free Poland," began twelve hour broadcasts. Almost immediately thereafter, vehement cartoons and editorials attacking these programs appeared in the Polish Communist press. The denunciations are unusual and deviate sharply from previous Communist policy. Formerly, the Western Radio was generally ignored and detailed condemnations avoided, but the effectiveness of Western broadcasts have necessitated retaliations. Current Communist fury in Poland coincides with intensified Satellite propaganda against the damaging influence of "enemy lies". This emphasis is evident in many major speeches by Communist leaders, and is highlighted by the reorganization of the Radio in Czechoslovakia and the condemnation of pro-Western sentiments in Hungary.

The cartoon on the bottom right, accompanied by an editorial entitled "Free Europe Rummages in the Ashcan," contained the following commentary:

"One of the West European stations of an especially low sort is Radio 'Free Europe,' which functions under the kind supervision of Adenauer's SS men. . . . What are the reasons for these broadcasts, you may ask? Firstly, the commentator of Radio 'Free Europe' is paid—and paid in dollars. Secondly, he is annoyed because we take no notice of him. . . . He is annoyed because our citizens know themselves to be the [rulers] of their country. . . .

"In one of 'Free Europe's' programs . . . the speaker tried to deny the immense achievements of People's Poland in the field of health welfare. . . . The Radio Free Europe commentator in distress said: ['From a recent criticism in the Polish press it is obvious] that the area around Wronska street is cluttered with dust bins, rubbish, ruins and rags.'

"'Free Europe' has at last tackled its proper subject—ashcans—hoping that between visits of the garbage trucks, . . . they may get a dollar premium for their garble of garbage."

"This, as well as the regime's intense collectivization program, damaged the Party's popularity. In fact, today, the Polish peasant constitutes the main source of opposition to the regime.

"From Bierut's speech it seems probable that the second half of 1952 will be a period of intensified Communist campaigns, particularly in rural areas, where collectivization will be accelerated. Further purges will be carried out in the Party rank and file, and the activity of Party agitators will be stepped-up during the adoption of the Constitution, and the elections to the Sejm and the National Councils."

"Young Hungarians Are Pacifists"

In Hungary, at a June 28th meeting of the Party's Central Committee, Minister of Defense Mihaly Farkas sharply criticized shortcomings in the work of the Communist youth organization, DISZ. Many young Hungarians are pacifists, he said, and have religious and pro-Western sentiments. Farkas also announced that only 35 percent of Hungarian youth had joined DISZ and that young people over twenty are reluctant to become members because the organization's activities fail to attract them.

Communist criticism of DISZ has been featured in the press since the early part of the year, when it was announced that the organization would be expanded to include young people between the ages of 24-26. From Farkas' speech, quoted in *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), July 1, it is clear that despite this attempt to strengthen DISZ, the organization is still failing in its main tasks:

"The bureaucratic management of DISZ, its partial isolation from the masses and the fact that as late as March [a large percentage] of its functionaries were between 16 and 21 [all contributed to its failure] to attract young people over twenty..."

Other criticisms of young workers, peasants and university students follow:

"Labor discipline among young workers is not satisfactory. The number of young Stakhanovites is low. . . . The political development of rural youth is backward. The influence of the enemy, particularly of the clerical reaction, is [still evident] and strongest in the villages. Young peasants constitute only 16 percent of DISZ membership. . . . The Party must . . . radically change this situation within the next year or so. . . .

"The political development and attitude of university and academy students is far from satisfactory. Among students of working-class origin the notion that by studying they are making a sacrifice to the People's Democracy . . . has become prevalent. Cosmopolitanism and adoration of the West is common among students of non-working origin. . . . Pacifism is very strong among students. 'Why do we need an Army if we are fighting for peace?' they ask. . . .

"In our educational work we must make youth understand that our struggle for peace is not the same as pacifism. In the present international situation, when the imperialists are rearming in order to conquer the

free peoples . . . we need strength and a good army in order to protect peace."

Failures in the Peace Movement were also condemned by member of the Political Committee Marton Horvath in a speech on the Party's work among the masses. As quoted by *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), June 29, Horvath's complaint echoes that of Farkas:

"The greatest deficiency of the movement is that it does not fight effectively against the pacifist voices frequently heard among its ranks. . . . It was unable [to get across the fact that] the preservation of peace must be combined with national defense. We must explain that these two cannot be separated; protecting peace without [taking measures for] national defense is equivalent to opening the frontiers of our country to the imperialist beasts of prey. . . ."

"Social Democrats Undermine Workers"

In the major part of his address, Horvath denounced the activities of the Social Democrats, the "clerical reaction" and the "kulaks," and demanded that Party Committees intensify their fight against these three "enemy" groups. Because of Party laxity, he said, the Social Democrats had managed to incite absenteeism and sabotage in the factories and had spread rumors inimical to the regime:

"There are still many workers in our factories who, wittingly or unwittingly, voice Social Democratic views. [Even when they are eliminated] they are quickly replaced by declassé elements who flood our working class, or by the most backward elements of our new workers. . . . We must systematically point out the treacherous conduct of the Social Democrats in the most historic phases of the class struggle. . . . Their present support of imperialism must be disclosed. . . .

"The Social Democrats undermine activities in the factories where they damage discipline, encourage frauds in requests for wage and sickness benefits, spread frightening rumors, and in fact, even engage in sabotage. As a result of our complacency and lack of vigilance, the Social Democrats seem to have gained ground in several Budapest and provincial factories where they had strong organizations prior to [the establishment of our People's Democracy]. In these factories, the failures in plan fulfillments, the high percentage of rejects and the political attitude of certain elements seem to indicate that organized, hostile Social Democratic activities are going on. Our most important task in the struggle against capitalist influence is to overcome Social Democratism both in principle and practice."

"Clerical Reaction"

In emphasizing the importance of the fight against "clerical reaction," Horvath decried the fact that some Party functionaries take part in religious activities and permit the church to influence their children against "the State, the schools and last, but not least, [their] own Communist parents." Horvath warned that Party members who "commit this crime" will be called to account. In order to intensify the struggle against the church, Horvath said,

scientific and ideological work must be improved and special attention be paid to miners and to "the significant number of women and youth on whom the corruptive activities of the clerical reaction are focussed."

Horvath's criticism of kulaks, printed in part below, may indicate that a new program to strengthen the sovkhos system will be launched this fall:

"In the course of our rural work we must expose the kulaks not only as individuals, but as a hostile class—the rear guard of the landlord system, the ally of the imperialist warmongers. . . . The kulaks' passivism, if we may call their silence passivism, is only a trick to mislead the working peasantry."

Reorganization of Czechoslovak Radio

In an effort to make the Czechoslovak radio a more effective instrument for political indoctrination, the Communist government has reorganized it under a Czechoslovak Broadcasting Committee headed by Minister of Information Václav Kopecký. The Cabinet appointed seven Committee members, two of whom—Josef Urban and Jaromír Hřebík—previously worked in the Soviet Union. Josef Vrabec, until now director of Slovak broadcasts, was named Vice-Chairman. In a July 8 editorial, *Rude Pravo* (Prague) analyzed the failures necessitating this change. Like the Soviet radio, the newspaper said, Czechoslovak broadcasts "must contribute to cultural development and disclose imperialist slanders and war preparations":

"[We have failed because of] insufficient contact with the masses of listeners. Too little attention was paid to letters from the audience . . . and consequently, many of our programs were insipid, lacking both persuasiveness and fighting spirit. The programs failed to point out the brilliant successes of our people, and our great future. . . . A lack of Bolshevik fighting spirit was revealed at the time when hostile [elements] were liquidated. . . . Our broadcasts were not effective in revealing slanderous enemy propaganda. . . . [Until now] many of our programs were full of empty phrases which reduced the forcefulness of the facts given. . . . Marxist-Leninist ideology was applied almost exclusively to programs dealing with the Year of Party Schooling, although [it] should have been applied to the most vital problems of domestic and international policy. . . . [In the future] may our broadcasts become an effective weapon in revealing every lie broadcast to us from the West by the enemies of our constructive efforts. . . ."

An exile researcher has said that one of the main motives for this reorganization was the effectiveness of Western broadcasts:

"In the future, more time will be devoted to combating these broadcasts. This reorganization is linked with other recent measures in the field of indoctrination. The founding of the Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge, the Conference for the Indoctrination of Teachers in Prague, the reshaping of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League, and the purges and changes in the Czechoslovak Youth League are steps taken for the same purpose. Other indications

of this emphasis are the prolonged visits of Soviet Komsomol delegates and Soviet scientists, the redistribution of newspaper space in favor of systematically planned indoctrination articles, and the acceptance and even forced attendance of non-Party members at courses of the Year of Party Schooling."

Educational Meetings Neglected

In Bulgaria, the press has devoted a great deal of space to deficiencies in the work of Party organizations. In an editorial on June 15, *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), especially condemned the neglect of educational meetings:

"The work of Party committees . . . is far from adequate. The main error is that a number of primary organizations are not holding regular monthly educational meetings. Reports on Party and government decisions are not delivered properly and little attention has been paid to improving the political standards and activities of Party members and candidates. 326 primary organizations in Plovdiv county have not held one single educational meeting since the beginning of the year. [A similar situation exists in Russe]. . . . The main reason for the above-mentioned shortcomings . . . is that the value of these meetings is underestimated by certain district and county Party committees. . . ."

"Formalism" and complacency comprise other Party deficiencies:

"Many Party committees have not bothered to study the individual characteristics of the basic Party organizations under their supervision. They guide them formalistically, rather than efficiently. . . . Party decisions are still not considered a battle plan which must be put into effect and achieved despite all difficulties and obstacles. Very often, Party committees adopt a complacent attitude toward shortcomings and errors, and fail to do the necessary organizational work which will insure implementation of Party decisions. This means that they have not grasped the importance of controlling the implementation of Party decisions. . . . Our future development depends on the successful solution of these problems."

Supplementing this information, an escapee jurist has reported on purging commissions established to eliminate "secret" enemies of the regime in lower Party organizations:

"It is said that over 15,000 persons have been purged in Party organizations since the beginning of the year. Those organizations most affected are in Plovdiv, Pleven, Russe, Stara-Zagora, Haskovo, Sliven, Gourgass, Staline Yambol, Lom and Svishtov. Until recently, the purge was carried out in high Party cadres; now it is being carried out in basic cadres. The purpose of these purges is to eliminate from the Party disappointed Communists who are considered 'hostile' or 'casual' elements. Their resistance to Party leadership is expressed in 'formalism' and indifference to Party work. In connection with these purges, the Party's Central Committee is trying to create new cadres composed of pro-Stalinist youth."

Because of failures in the political indoctrination of

children, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has recently issued several decisions concerning the work of the Pioneer organization, *Septemvriches*. According to these decisions, mass organizations, ministries, cultural societies and schools must contribute to the "education" of the Pioneers. DUFY, the youth organization, was made chiefly responsible for improvements in work, and charged with inculcating in Pioneers "a spirit of ardent patriotism, love for the Party and Bulgarian-Soviet friendship." Reporting on the decisions, *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), June 6, said: "Politico-educational activity must be raised to a higher level in order to wage a more decisive struggle against negative and hostile remnants of the bourgeois past in the schools." The newspaper also pointed out the importance of intensifying paramilitary training.

What Is Picasso's Pigeon?

In Latvia, Party propagandists were recently taken to task for errors in indoctrination courses. *Sovetskaya Latvija* (Riga), June 13, attributed the following mistakes to the lack of criticism and self-criticism:

"Lecturer Janusevics made the statement that only after the Second World War did the reactionary circles in the US begin to dream about world domination. . . . It is a known fact that monopolists on the other side of the ocean have cherished this idea for a long time. . . . The lecturer made another false statement. He described Picasso's pigeon as expressing the immense power . . . of the freedom movement. But we know that the Picasso pigeon is . . . a symbol of the fight for peace. . . .

"The lecture entitled 'Crisis of the Bourgeoisie' by Kadrasevs was also poor. It did not precisely describe the abominable nature of American culture. The lecturer discussed gangster movies at great length. He talked about the 3,000 varieties of kisses and about the American who swallowed 75 lizards. But he remained silent about the real cause of the collapse of capitalist culture."

III. "MOBILIZATION FOR DEFENSE"

"Mobilization for defense" is a major propaganda theme in Soviet-oriented Europe. As part of this campaign, stress is placed on intensified paramilitary activities and on the ideological preparedness of the nation. Party activists urge emulation of Soviet military techniques, publicize patriotic slogans and glorify the role of the Armed Forces. Young people are reminded of their tasks in pre-military organizations, as "fighters for peace," and as future recruits. These tasks include defense sports and Army courses. Even grade school students must learn to manipulate light arms. Below are details of this training which present a summary view of the militarization of life behind the Iron Curtain.

In June, conferences of Communist members of the Armed Forces took place for the first time in all four military administrative districts in Poland. These districts are

Warsaw, Pomorze, Slask and Cracow and are under the command of former Soviet officers who have been given Polish citizenship. Reporting on the conference in Pomorze, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), June 16, said that discussions centered on "strengthening one-man leadership and combining political education with military training." In a speech to the conference, Vice-Minister of Defense, General Marian Naszkowski, dealt with future tasks:

"The district conferences held for the first time in our People's Armed Forces are of great importance. They are a sign of the strength and political maturity of Party organizations in the Armed Forces. This was made possible only by crushing the deviations of Gomulka and Spychalski, by the complete purge of . . . elements [still engaged] in Spychalski's plots. . . .

"We must henceforth fight against all signs of formalism and superficiality in political work. We must fight simplifications and careless methods of education. Our language should be simple, lively and convincing. The soldier should immediately understand our explanations and be moved by them. . . . A soldier should know that his love for his Fatherland is expressed by love . . . for his commander, by rigorous obedience, by technical mastery, by respect for his weapon, and by his refusal to tolerate any infringement of discipline. . . ."

No Glass House

Also present at the meeting was Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, Zenon Nowak, who discussed the "link between the Armed Forces and the Nation":

"The Army does not live in a glass house. All political problems affecting the country are part of the soldier's work. At the same time, the Armed Forces influence the entire nation, particularly the countryside. Thousands of civilian activists, and Party and [youth] leaders are recruited from the ranks of former draftees. Therefore, the December decisions of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party on the growth and regulation of Party ranks is of particular importance to the Armed Forces."

Navy Day in Poland was celebrated on June 29 at Gdynia with Minister of National Defense Marshall Konstanty Rokossowski and Vice-Minister General Poplawski attending. In connection with this occasion, so-called "Sea Days" are observed by the civilian population between June 22-29. Festivities are organized by the Communist Maritime League, *Liga Morska*, with the "cooperation of all social, youth and sports organizations." According to a Polish exile, the Maritime League, patterned on the Soviet "Doflot," has 148 chapters and 18,000 members in Warsaw district alone. "Its main tasks are to publicize the Navy's achievements, to recruit sailors and to educate the people in the 'spirit of friendship for the Soviet Navy.'" The newspaper, *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), June 30, printed a glowing description of the Navy—and by implication, defined the aims of the League:

"The Navy stands firmly, guarding the honor of the Polish flag, emulating the heroic attitude of Soviet sailors. . . . By daily training, the perfect execution of or-

ders, and the mastery of naval techniques, our sailors demonstrate their deep love for the People's Fatherland and their readiness to defend the peaceful, creative work of our nation."

The Poor "Moral" Level of Sports

In Czechoslovakia the July Congress of the Slovak Sokol, a nation-wide paramilitary organization, has been postponed until fall because of serious shortcomings in work. According to the newspaper *Lud* (Bratislava), June 15, the Sokol failed to develop physical training in factories and rural districts. A clearer policy for eliminating these difficulties will be decided upon during the summer. The crisis within the Sokol has been chronic since the Communists seized control of it in 1948. About a year ago, the organization was severely criticized by its Secretary General, Oldrich Vyhnaek, for unsatisfactory politico-educational courses and its inclusion of hostile elements. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 22, 1951, made public Vyhnaek's complaints as follows:

"In every region there are units which have not recruited anyone . . . units which remained isolated because they are still in the hands of elements hostile to the new Sokol, and probably even to the Republic. . . . We are not satisfied with the moral level of certain types of sports. We shall strengthen the organization and its discipline by following the example of Soviet sportsmen. . . . Until now . . . we have not been able to ensure correct educational activities in Sokol units. . . . Expert ideological training of functionaries, coaches, instructors and umpires has not been fully developed. . . . We have not . . . cooperated with the National Committees nor made use of the aid available from the Czechoslovak Youth League and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. . . . The main fault, however, is the great leniency and inconsistency shown in serious matters. . . ."

On May 16 of this year, the importance of the Sokol's political reliability was further emphasized in *Sokolske Noviny* (Prague), which announced that the association's Central Committee had passed a decision to intensify paramilitary training:

"The Presidium of the Sokol Central Committee ordered [all] Sokol Committees to direct their full attention to questions of national defense and paramilitary training . . . and to increase the political and physical preparedness of our citizens. . . . The Presidium of the Regional Sokol will supervise the carrying out of effective propaganda for [this purpose]. . . . In connection with preparations for a Sokol Day, special efforts must be made to have mass attendance at the . . . summer competition for military efficiency.

"In cooperation with the Union for Cooperation with the Army, Regional and District Sokol Committees will bear responsibility . . . for the physical preparedness of recruits, whether or not they are members of Sokol. . . . Upon the return of Sokol members from active military duty, Sokol units must persuade them to become instructors. . . . Sokol Committees will evaluate the activities of their members who are delegated to the Union for Co-

operation with the Army . . . and those who fail in their work will be replaced by new, active workers. . . ."

Paramilitary Training in Romania

The four major organizations for paramilitary training in Romania are the Union of Working Youth, the Ready for Work and Defense Complex, the General Direction of People's Security and the "Paza". An exiled Romanian youth leader has submitted the following information on these groups:

"The Union of Working Youth [UTM], organized like its Soviet counterpart, has its Central Committee in Bucharest and local committees throughout the country. One of its main tasks is to organize the military training of youth. UTM is composed of five sections: a Pioneer Section for children up to 14 years of age, a group for teen-agers, a group for college students, a group for young workers, and a military section. Besides regional UTM organizations, there is a UTM group in every university, secondary school, military school, training center, factory, collective farm and tractor station.

"The UTM works in close collaboration with the Army, and some of its leaders are Army Majors. In August 1951, before the Romanian team was sent to the Berlin World Youth Festival, it was cleared by the Army. On Armed Forces Day, UTM members were asked to join military bands. In plants and factories, UTM organizations train young workers in pistol and rifle practice and some even have their own aviation and parachute schools.

"The Ready for Work and Defense Complex [GMA] was founded by UTM after the Politburo's decision of June 26, 1949, to 'stimulate and develop physical culture and sports.' Its task, besides promoting sports, is 'the multilateral preparation of youth for highly productive work and for the defense of peace.' The GMA, together with the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, organizes premilitary activities and the so-called GMA tests. These tests consist of various kinds of obstacle races, which include swimming a certain distance while carrying equipment and arms, target tests and skiing. Mass sports competitions took place for the first time in January, 1951.

The People's Security

"The General Direction of the People's Security was formed in 1948 as part of the Ministry of Interior. Its general aim is to organize spying activities throughout the country. Some of its members wear light-blue uniforms like the militia but with different insignia. Others wear no uniform at all but have military ranks. In case of war, members would all be uniformed and probably become part of the Army.

"The 'Paza,' or Watch, is a group set up at the end of 1950 by the Ministry of the Interior for the purpose of defending industrial plants, bridges, jails, etc., against saboteurs, and of supervising factory workers. In 1951, the organization had about 60,000 members. No official mention has been made of the organization in almost a year, and it is possible that 'Paza' now works under cover or has been integrated into the General Direction of People's Security.

"Finally, it must be pointed out that all State institutions and offices are militarized and that many State employees, especially those holding vital jobs, have military ranks. One of the reasons for this is that in case of national emergency and martial law, these people could be tried by military courts in the event that they 'commit crimes.'"

The Seeds of Proper Qualities

Paramilitary courses in Hungary are given by the Pioneers, the Communist youth organization DISZ, the Ready to Work and Fight Sports Movement, the Sports Union of Manpower Reserves, the Union of Fighters for Liberty and the Hungarian Flyers Union. An exiled military expert has described some of their activities below:

"On June 19, Communist Minister of Defense Mihaly Farkas said that over 900,000 children belonged to the Pioneers. The purpose of this organization is to indoctrinate children in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and to train them for the Army. According to *Szabad Nep*, June 19, the 'Pioneer movement sows in children the seeds of qualities proper to the new Communist man. . . . Raising the flag in the morning, saluting, wearing Pioneer ties . . . teaches children discipline and order.' Boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 10 learn the words of Soviet military marches and the Soviet salute to the flag. Furthermore, they learn to carry weapons, although they practice only with wooden guns. Older children, however, practice with light weapons. The movement includes children up to 14 years of age. After that, they become members of the DISZ. One of the current tasks of DISZ is to increase not only membership but also the number of paramilitary organizations.

"The Ready to Work and Fight Sports Movement, based on the Soviet GTO, was established in 1949 with a membership of 430,000. It includes young people from thirteen years of age up. In accordance with its military goals, emphasis is placed on running, jumping, swimming and other kinds of sports. Members are also trained in motorcycling, target shooting, and the use of military weapons. Members must pass yearly tests supervised by military commissions. In January, 1951, *Szabad Nep* said that membership for the year was 530,000. It is probable that the bulk of membership consists of industrial workers rather than the scattered peasantry.

"Fighters for Liberty"

"The Sports Union of Manpower Reserves is the elite group within the Ready to Work and Fight Movement. In 1950 it was announced that 8,000 members wore the Sports Union uniform. This June, Mihaly Farkas said that 60,000 industrial workers wear the organization's uniform. Although this number is small compared to membership in other mass organizations, the Sports Union is the most important because it supplies the Party with technicians, engineers, pilots and youth cadres.

"On February 6, *Szabad Nep* wrote: 'The Union of Fighters for Liberty was created by our Party in order to strengthen our Army; it was assigned the task of including in its ranks young people who want to be

friends of and fighters for the Army.' This Union also holds yearly examinations and shooting competitions. By the end of 1951, official figures listed membership at 120,000. Although very little information is published about the Union's military training, letters from Hungary say that parachutists are constantly practicing at the various military airports, and that in February of this year 36 women were decorated with the First Grade Badge of the Paratroopers.

"The Hungarian Flyers' Union is trying to include thousands of young people in its activities. Ten-year-old children are taught to construct airplane models and at 16 they begin piloting gliders. At 18, they are transferred to Army units. The organization is constructed along the same lines as its Soviet counterpart, DOSAV."

Rearmament in Hungary

A long article on Hungarian rearmament appeared in the Yugoslav newspaper *Politika* (Belgrade), June 29, which stated that according to official Hungarian reports present expenditures for military needs are ten times greater than in 1948 and exceed those of 1949 and 1950 together. After describing war industry in Hungary, the newspaper discussed the expansion of communication lines:

"A new, modern road to be used exclusively for military purposes is under construction in the Budapest-Pecs-Mohacs area. The road to the south is 12 meters wide and is being built with strong concrete foundations. . . . It is to be used by the heaviest military vehicles. . . . Roads leading from the Soviet Union to Hungary are being expanded . . . in order to facilitate increased traffic and to speed up the transfer of armaments to the Yugoslav border.

"Similar measures are being taken on Hungarian railway lines. A railway from Miskolc to Budapest has been planned with broad Russian gauges which will speed up the transfer of Soviet armaments to the center of Pannonian valley [lowlands]."

Politika also states that modern airfields are under construction in the district of Dunafoldvar and Paks, about 150 kilometers from the Yugoslav border, in the Kaposvar district, and in Szekesfehervar. The newspaper concludes that these measures are for the purpose of aggression rather than defense:

". . . The frequent flights of Hungarian planes over our territory at a time of increased armament indicate that the militarization of countries of the Soviet bloc is a danger to peace. . . . Hungarian officers constantly tell soldiers that they must prepare for an attack against Yugoslavia. Military training is directed [towards this end.]"

IV. THE DISTORTION OF LEGALITY

Kremlin influence is evident in all legislation behind the Iron Curtain. It is striking in the new Polish Constitution adopted by the Sejm and in the new Draft Constitution for Romania prepared under the leadership of Prime Minister Gheorghiu-Dej. These, as well as other recent laws, illustrate Bolshevik concepts of legality. Communist distortion

of law are recorded below, along with current items on Party leadership.

New Polish Constitution

The Draft of a new Polish Constitution was adopted by the Sejm on July 22. The date was auspicious, marking the commemoration of "Poland's Day of Rebirth" in 1944, when the Lublin Manifesto was signed. This was the first legislative act of the Communist regime. During the recent Sejm session, lasting for several days, thirty deputies took part in discussions on the Draft. With unflinching conformity, all of them praised the document as a "magnificent Socialist achievement." President Boleslaw Bierut, who is credited with "formulating" the basic provisions of this Sovietized Constitution, was the key speaker. He criticized the former Polish Constitutions of 1921 and 1935 as "bourgeois" documents, and launched a vehement attack against the "capitalist" West. Excerpts from his speech, broadcast over Radio Warsaw, July 18, follow:

"[The two pre-war Polish Constitutions] . . . although differing essentially, both aimed at subjugating the popular masses . . . to the ruling class of capitalists and landowners. [They aimed at] safeguarding the privileges of that class and at sanctioning the exploitation of the working masses. . . .

"The present Draft of the Constitution is based on the firm foundations of new relations won and consolidated by [progress] in our country's economy and a new alignment of class forces. . . . In contrast to bourgeois constitutions, a fundamental law of the People's State should not only give verbal declarations of civil rights but guarantee and safeguard them. . . .

"In capitalist societies . . . civil rights and liberties have become a fiction for the masses. [They] are formally or practically nullified by growing police Fascist terror and excessive militarism. . . . Can we speak about democratic rights in the US, where the oppressive State machinery, inseparably linked with capital, has become a vast breeding ground for criminal research into the most effective methods of exterminating the largest possible number of people? . . . Can we speak about progress and civil liberty in a country where warmongers' rampant terror . . . stifles any pronouncement of a desire for peace? In a country where imperialist degenerates have succeeded in enmeshing millions of people in an atmosphere of lies and war hysteria . . . imposing on them a policy of genocide and invasion to subjugate the world . . . [a policy] contrary to the interests of the working class?"

Romanian Draft Constitution

On July 18, the Romanian radio announced that a new Draft Constitution had been unanimously adopted by the Great National Assembly. The Draft was submitted to the Assembly on March 27 and no further information about it has appeared until now. Referring to its swift acceptance, an exile wryly commented that "the Drafting Commission under the Chairmanship of Prime Minister

Gheorghiu-Dej must have written a document so perfect that it needed neither discussion nor amendment." The 105 article document begins with a lengthy preamble extolling the Soviets and their army. The body of the document is summarized below by an emigre jurist:

"The Draft is a faithful copy of constitutions adopted by Soviet autonomous republics, and the Soviet system of a single chamber legislature is adhered to. The most striking difference between this document and the 1948 Constitution is that the latter tried to express Communist thought in traditional neo-Latin juridical terms and to squeeze Soviet political principles into patterns derived from Roman law. In the new Draft, this effort is not noticeable; possibly, the people capable of performing such semantic acrobatics have been liquidated.

"The new Constitution does not define specific rights to property but provides instead for the nationalization of almost everything, including 'the wealth of all nature, subsoil, mines, forests, waterways, hydroelectric power, air and sea transportation, banks, post, telegraph, telephone, radio, printing, movies, theaters, State Farms, tractor stations and communal enterprises.' Balancing this is a weak statement that 'the land belongs to those who work it,' and a provision about the personal property of collectivized peasants. This amounts to 'a home, a patch of land nearby, cattle, poultry, and several agricultural implements.' The Draft also says that the State 'protects farmers and small handicraftsmen from capitalist exploitation.' Since there are no capitalists about, it is difficult to see what this protection will afford, especially since all exploitation is committed by the State."

A Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces

Changes in the regional setup of Romania and provisions for a state of war comprise other items in the new Draft:

"Among the indisputable outward signs of increased centralization provided for in the Draft is the reduction of the number of regions from 28 to 18. A startling development is the establishment of an 'autonomous Hungarian region.' Although this autonomy appears to be only administrative, it undoubtedly contains the seeds of some political autonomy, the purpose of which is to allow the Soviets to play Hungarians against Romanians—a policy copied from Hitler.

"The Constitution also contains numerous provisions pertaining to a state of war. For the first time in the Communist regime, a 'Supreme Head of the Armed Forces' is provided for, and is to be appointed by the Presidium, a rubber stamp group of 17. This provision may very well be the legal basis for appointing Stalin head of the Romanian Army. The Presidium itself has the right to declare war on aggressors against the RPR or against any other country with which the RPR has mutual defense obligations. Furthermore, in a state of war, the Great National Assembly can 'keep its mandate so long as the exceptional situation lasts.'

"Throughout the Draft Constitution there is a tendency to superimpose the Party on the State—a tactic similar to that of the Nazis. The State itself is said to be composed of workers and peasants. No other group is considered to exist.

"The hastily drawn Draft represents Gheorghiu-Dej's first paid installment to the Kremlin for his new post as undisputed Communist No. 1 in Romania."

Trials in Public Places

A new law on judicial organization will be put into effect in Romania on August 1. According to Bucharest newspapers, June 5, the new bill will "defend the People's Democratic Regime," "reeducate offenders," and indoctrinate citizens in the spirit of devotion to the country and to Socialism. The highest tribunal is the Supreme Court, which supervises the activity of lower courts and issues directives regarding the "correct application of laws." A significant feature of the new bill is that higher courts can remove a case from lower courts. As one observer has pointed out, this permits the regime to stop the proceedings of a trial if, for any reason, the outcome is doubtful.

"For sound reasons and with a view to better trials, superior courts . . . may deprive lower courts of the jurisdiction of any case . . . in order to try it or send it to be tried in another court with a rank at least equal to that of the court from which it was removed."

Furthermore, cases may be tried outside a courtroom for the purpose of realizing "the educational aim of justice." An exiled lawyer has said that this ruling not only provides for trials being held in public places but also confirms reports that speedy political trials have been held in prisons.

Courts are usually composed of one judge and two "people's assessors," who are appointed by mass organizations or other Communist-dominated groups:

"Judges of all ranks are independent and submit only to law in the exercise of their duties. . . . The provisions for the judges' fulfillment of their duties apply also to the people's assessors . . . who are elected for one year at the proposal of the people's councils . . . cooperative organizations, the Romanian Workers Party, the General Confederation of Labor, . . . and other mass organizations. The duty of a people's assessor is compulsory. People's assessors must render accounts of their activity to those who elected them."

The Public Prosecutor

A bill dealing with the office of Public Prosecutor has also been passed. Headed by a General Prosecutor, who is appointed by the Grand National Assembly for a period of five years, the Office has the following tasks:

"To see that decisions and other legal documents issued by the local agencies of State power . . . are in conformity with the laws of the Romanian People's Republic. To see that all offenses are promptly established and properly punished. . . . To see to the uniform and just application of laws by courts all over the country. To supervise the courts' judicial activity . . . and the activity of agencies which carry out court decisions. . . ."

A Chief Military Prosecutor is the assistant General Prosecutor and is in charge of military courts:

"[Military courts] must fight relentlessly against enemies of the working people. [They must] strengthen the People's Democratic regime and the fighting capacity of the RPR's Armed Forces by trying and punishing those who violate military laws, regulations, orders and duties, as well as those who commit other legal offenses."

In commenting on the new regulations, Radio Bucharest, June 24, said: "The new system will help liquidate the right-wing deviations which have become manifest in the weakening of revolutionary vigilance. [Henceforth] speculators, kulaks, etc., who steal the bread of the workers and try to hinder the monetary reform, will be liquidated. . . . [They will] not be acquitted or granted minimum sentences as in the past."

"The Only True Legal Science"

On June 11, at a national conference of Czechoslovak attorneys held in Prague, Minister of Justice Stefan Rais made a speech on the future tasks of lawyers. Contrasting administrative improvements in the legal profession with lawyers' "ideological shortcomings," Rais discussed the need for "spiritual reorganization," and pointed out principles to be applied in work. As quoted by *Rude Pravo*, (Prague), June 12, he said:

"The attorney must not always try to get his client acquitted. . . . He must defend his client in accordance with the interests of society. [To do this] he must abandon all tricks, evasions and pretenses . . . and try honestly to reveal the truth and to see that justice is done. . . . He must protect Socialist life instead of damaging it . . . and not blindly defend the egoistic interests of his client. . . ."

"It is essential that [lawyers] know Marxist-Leninist teachings . . . and are firmly grounded in Soviet legal science, the only correct and true world science. It is essential that they systematically apply Soviet experience."

"Greatest attention must be paid to the education of young cadres. Important tasks [cannot be fulfilled] by obsolete methods of work based on bourgeois individualism. . . . The legal profession must be absolutely aware of the necessity of contributing to the preservation of Socialist legal order, which demands the exact and universal application of our laws."

An exiled lawyer has provided some background information on the reorganization of the Czechoslovak legal profession:

"Only a few months after the Communist coup in February 1948, Alexej Cepicka, the Minister of Justice at that time, insisted upon the reorganization of the legal profession. Consequently, on January 1, 1949, State-controlled regional lawyers' associations were established on a cooperative basis, with a central organization at the top. Under the new regulations, advocates maintained their own offices and received \$120 a month plus a small allowance for each dependant. Only when the net proceeds of an office exceeded about \$360 a month was the advocate granted a share of the profits, usually about one-third. This reorganization was linked with a far-

reaching purge of the profession, which sharply reduced the number of advocates.

"It is obvious that this arrangement did not permit very strict control. Furthermore, attorneys could not get used to the idea that their main task was to defend not the interests of their clients but the interests of the budding Socialist State. Under these circumstances, Cepicka's successor, Stefan Rais, started another reorganization of the profession in July 1951, although he had no 'legal' authorization to do so. Legal advisory offices were established by merging the offices of ten to twenty advocates and choosing a chief from among them. Attorneys were no longer permitted to handle money or to receive fees. In December 1951, this state of affairs was legalized and the cooperatives were abolished. From the recent conference in Prague, however, it is evident that the régime still has reason to be dissatisfied with the working methods and ideology of advocates."

Sovietization of Czechoslovak Judicial System

A Bratislava conference was held on June 28 for the reorganization of the Czechoslovak judicial system along Soviet lines. The main target of reform was the Procurator's Office.* This action was presaged by an article which appeared in the Soviet law publication *Sovietskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo* last January, when jurist W. S. Tadevosian underscored the "backwardness" of the Procurator's Office in Czechoslovakia. From Tadevosian's commentary it appeared that the two captive countries that had not yet adopted Soviet principles with regard to Procurators were Romania and Czechoslovakia. In the latter, Tadevosian said, the Procurator's Office is still responsible to the Minister of Justice, "instead of being an independent organ of the National Assembly and its Presidium. In the course of Socialist development, there can be no doubt that Czechoslovakia will find it necessary to enlarge the functions of the Procurator's Office and create a centralized and independent [one] which will exercise supreme supervision over the exact implementation of laws."

"He Must Strengthen Socialist Legal Order"

In a speech to the above-mentioned Bratislava Conference, Minister of Justice Stefan Rais confirmed Tadevosian's "predictions" about an impending change. He announced a new bill making the Procurator's Office independent of the judiciary and the Cabinet. As quoted by *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 29, Rais defined the main tasks of this Office as follows:

"The strengthening and protection of the Socialist legal order will be the main task of the General Procurator. . . . [For this purpose] he will [supervise] not only the activities of the courts, but also . . . the activities of all organs of State administration—mainly, the

activities of ministries and their agencies. [He will also see] that all citizens obey the law. . . .

"By a more systematic fight against domestic and foreign enemies, the Procurator's Office and the judiciary will safeguard the peace aims of all progressive people . . . help develop Socialism in the villages . . . and watch for criminal activities which . . . threaten our production and Socialist building. The activities of the Procurator's Office and the courts must be based on politico-educational aims; [they must fight] for the creation of a new man liberated from . . . capitalist ideology."

"The Slansky Group Was Pro-Tito"

Although numerous Communist leaders in Czechoslovakia have been arrested during the past two years, none of them have been formally tried. Exile circles refute rumors that secret trials have been held because the regime would undoubtedly conduct such affairs publicly as show trials. A recent article in the Communist press, while making no mention of a trial, indicts the Czech and Slovak "conspirators" as one united group. This indictment, published in *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 29, on the fourth anniversary of the Cominform's first anti-Tito resolution, included the accusation that the "Slansky group" had opposed taking action against Tito. "Slansky and Company" is alleged to consist primarily of former Secretary of the Communist Party Otto Sling, arrested in November, 1950; his "accomplice" Maria Svermova, Deputy Central Secretary of the Party, who was deprived of all her posts in February, 1951; and Vladimir Clementis, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, imprisoned early in 1951 along with his associates, Slovak Commissioners Gustav Husak and Laco Novemesky. In actual fact, Slansky had taken a main part in the condemnation of these "conspirators" at several Central Committee meetings previous to his arrest in November of last year. The excerpts from *Rude Pravo* linking Slansky with these men read as follows:

"Not by mere chance was it revealed after Sling and Svermova were seized that these traitors had opposed the Information Bureau's resolution on the situation within the Yugoslav Party. . . . It was also revealed that these evil-doers had attempted to prevent publication of certain passages of the resolution, mainly, the passage stating that the Tito clique heralded the abatement of the class struggle in villages. . . . Like the Fascist Tito clique in Yugoslavia . . . Slansky, Svermova, Sling, Clementis and Co. aimed at the seizure of leadership within the Party and State and at the restitution of capitalism in our country. . . . Following the Titoist example, Slansky tried to damage the Party's appeal and its capacity to act. [Slansky and Co.] damaged the principle of democratic centralism, preventing elected Party organs from making decisions . . . and introduced methods of killing criticism and self-criticism."

A Czechoslovak exile has said that the trial of the "conspirators" has probably been postponed indefinitely because of the victim's refusal to make public confessions:

"The regime is probably afraid of a repetition of the Traicho Kostov trial in Bulgaria. Kostov confessed dur-

* The Procurator General is head of all District Attorney's Offices and is supreme State Attorney in cases of criminal law. There is no equivalent for this office in the US or in Western Europe.

ing the examination but was defiant at the public trial. Besides, the removal of the 'Slansky gang' has fulfilled its psychological role. The victims have already been liquidated and only a new political situation, such as possible failure of someone in the Gottwald group, would give a trial a new propaganda value. In such a case, the new 'conspirator' would probably be included in 'Slansky and Company' and a trial of the entire 'Company' might be staged."

New Polish Vice-Premier

The Polish newspaper *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), July 2, reported that Minister of Foreign Trade Tadeusz Gede had been appointed a Vice-Premier. There are now six Vice-Premiers in the Cyrankiewicz government. These include Hilary Chelchowski, Minister of State Farms; Hilary Minc, Chairman of the State Planning Commission; Antoni Korzycki, representative of the United Peasants Party (allied with the Communists); Stefan Jedrychowski, a member of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers Party; and Alexander Zawadzki, a pre-war working class Communist.

In accordance with the Soviet pattern, the number of Polish ministries has been gradually increased, and now amounts to 31. Exile experts say that this amount is too large for work to progress smoothly in an advisory council and that it is probable that this larger Cabinet is being replaced by a smaller one consisting of the six Vice-Premiers, the Premier, Secretary of State Jacob Berman and the three Ministers-without-Portfolio.

The number of Deputy-Chairmen on the State Planning Commission has also increased to six in recent weeks. They are Adam Wang, Franciszek Blinowski, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Eugeniusz Szyr and the new appointees Stefan Ignar, and Franciszek Waniolka. Chairman of the Commission Hilary Minc has faded from the limelight. There has been no information about his making any public appearances in recent months and he was not listed as a participant in the discussion of economic problems at the June plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers Party. Exile circles say that Minc is probably up for demotion as a scapegoat for economic failures of the regime.

Changes in Romanian Leadership

As part of the large-scale shakeup of Romanian Communist leadership, several changes have recently occurred. On June 19 it was announced by Bucharest newspapers that Victor Orsa had been dismissed as Secretary of the Union of Working Youth because of "moral and political disintegration." Ion Pumnea and Anton Manea were also dismissed from the Union's Central Committee, the former for having concealed his "kulak origin," and the

latter because of "unfitness." Vasile Musat was appointed to replace Orsa, and Lorant Covaci and Gheorghe Smoleanu were appointed new members of the Central Committee.

On June 27, Gogu Radulescu was dismissed as Assistant-Minister of External Trade and replaced by Marcel Popescu. On June 28, Alexandru Ion replaced Marin Jianu as Assistant Minister of Interior, and Anton Tatu Jianu was appointed to replace Alexandru Voitinovici as Attorney General. On June 29, Alexandru Muresan was made an Assistant Minister of Interior after having acted as a counsellor at the Ministry since last November.

On July 1, all newspapers published a decree dismissing Ludovic Takacs as Assistant-Minister for Minorities' Problems and appointing Francisc Otrok in his place. On July 3, Ana Toma was relieved of her post as Assistant-Minister of Foreign Affairs and appointed an Assistant Minister of Foreign Trade. At the same time, Stan Dudescu and Horia Dunareanu were appointed Assistant Ministers of Health.

Other changes between July 2 and 7 resulted in the dismissal of Constantin Sandu as Assistant Minister of Local Industry because of "inefficiency," of Dinu Negreanu from the post of Vice-Chairman for the Committee for Cinematography, and of Ana Pauker from the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Replacing Ana Pauker is Simion Bughici, who has been Ambassador to Moscow since 1950; Mihail Dalea was appointed Ambassador in Bughici's place. Dalea is a member of the Party's Central Committee and a former Vice-Chairman of the State Control Commission.

New Political Organization

On July 19, Radio Bucharest announced that a "coordinating conference" attended by representatives from the Communist Party, all mass organizations, unions, the Ploughmen's Front, national minorities, and from the field of science, art and culture had been held on the previous day. The conference set up a new organization called the RPR Democratic Front in which 43 charter members were listed. Although the exact purpose of this new political group is not clear at present, the sharp differentiation between the composition of the membership and the Board of Directors is noteworthy. While only 8 out of 43 charter members represent the Party, 4 top Communists are on the 11 member Board of Directors. The rest of the Board is composed of representatives from Communist organization, affiliated parties and "prominent" figures. Another interesting fact is that only 3 of the 5 Party secretaries in Romania are on the Board; the 2 new appointees, Miron Constantinescu and Gheorghe Apostol, were not present at the conference.

Exploitation By Integration

I. FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC TRADE

Recent developments in inter-Satellite trade indicate increased activity in the tightening of natural and unavoidable economic links. Exchanges appear to be systematic and rational when considered in terms of Soviet policy. The dependence of one country upon another to meet commitments to a third is one of the most powerful means leading to the ultimate confusion of national boundaries and to absorption into a single state.

At the same time, the constant need for help from the outside is acknowledged by such moves as Poland's bid for the Scandinavian coal market or the Czechoslovak-Polish collaboration on sugar export.

"By a Common Effort . . ."

On June 19 and 20, both Hungary and Romania announced the signing of a joint trade agreement covering the years 1953-1955. *Scanteia* (Bucharest), June 21, printed the following Agerpress report:

"A few days ago, representatives of the Romanian and Hungarian People's Republics signed a long-term trade treaty in Bucharest. According to the provisions of the treaty, the two countries have formed a company called 'Romagchim' to exploit Romanian natural gas resources.

"By a common effort, a pipe-line will be built to carry natural gas from the RPR to a chemical plant to be built in Hungary. . . . The pipe-line will also supply some regions within the RPR."

The Hungarian paper *Nepszava* (Budapest), June 21, added:

"The high tension electricity networks of the two countries will be connected . . . in order to utilize electric power more economically. Hungary will contribute to Romania's manufacture of nitrates and other chemicals by sending her machines and mechanical equipment."

And *Scanteia* concluded: "The agreement was made on a basis of equal participation and mutual assistance and will serve greatly the economic needs and socialization of both countries."

A Hungarian metallurgist in exile commented on the advisability of such an agreement:

"The Hungarian-Czechoslovak bauxite agreement, signed on April 7, followed the bauxite and aluminum crisis in Hungary. Bauxite is the most valuable mineral in Hungary—the leading producer in Europe [see page 1]. The USSR is dissatisfied with Hungary's production rate. . . . The new agreement will furnish Hungary with more hydroelectric power and directly benefit Czechoslovakia through her share in the processing of bauxite."

In Bulgaria, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Polish-Bulgarian friendship treaty, *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), May 31, declared:

"As the result of the treaty of May 29, 1948, a number of agreements have been concluded which insure economic and technical collaboration between our two countries, thus securing the assistance of Poland's well-developed industry. We import machinery and equipment, rolling stock, rolled metals, chemicals and other necessary materials. And in exchange, we export tobacco, concentrates, various raw materials, and agricultural products. . . . A number of Bulgarian enterprises have already been aided by the technics of Polish mining and chemical industries."

According to *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia) March 27, Poland has accounted for 5.93 percent of Bulgaria's imports and 7.67 percent of her exports.

Radio Sofia, on June 9, announced an agreement between Bulgaria and Austria:

"From May 27 to June 7, negotiations were held in Sofia between the trade delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Austria. . . . On June 7, as a result of successfully completed negotiations between the

two countries, an agreement was signed on commodity exchange and payments, effective to June 30, 1953. This agreement calls for a large increase over 1951 of the goods exchanged. . . . Bulgaria will send Austria agricultural products [including 300,000 kilos of tobacco], while Austria will supply Bulgaria with metals [including 1,000 tons of steel, 500 tons of laminated steel, 1,000 tons of iron, and 1,000 tons of iron wire], machines and raw materials."

However, the development of trade between Bulgaria and Austria during 1950 and 1951 according to other sources, was:

	Bulgarian Imports from Austria	Bulgarian Exports to Austria
1950	40.8 million schillings	35.6 million schillings
1951	14.0 million schillings	28.1 million schillings

New Romanian Agreements

Other trade contracts with members of the Soviet bloc have recently been effected between Romania and Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. *Agerpress* (Bucharest) May 13, announced the signing of two new agreements on May 10:

"An agreement with Hungary for 1952 was signed in Bucharest on May 10, in which Romania will export industrial equipment, lumber, chemical, and oil products, etc., to Hungary, and Hungary will send industrial equipment, machine tools, electrotechnical materials, iron and steel products, medicines, and other items to Romania.

"[A similar] agreement for the exchange of goods and payments for 1952 between the Czechoslovak Republic and the RPR was signed in Prague on May 10, in which the RPR will export cereals and fodder, as well as oil, mining, chemical, timber and other products to Czechoslovakia in exchange for coke, iron and steel products, agricultural machines, transportation, industrial and electrical equipment, chemicals, medicines and other goods."

And *Scanteia* (Bucharest) July, published an *Agerpress* report concerning a Romanian-Bulgarian trade treaty signed in Sofia on June 28, by Ioan Kuhn for Romania and G. Milusev for Bulgaria. It gave no details, but Radio Sofia announced on July 5 that "a Bulgarian-Romanian trade agreement on the exchange of goods and payments for 1952 was signed in Sofia on June 28. Romania will deliver oil and chemical products equipment, etc. Bulgaria will supply tobacco, minerals, barium oxide, etc."

Coal for Denmark . . .

The Danish Ministry of Foreign Trade has announced that a trade agreement has been signed in Warsaw between Denmark and Poland after a series of discussions which were begun in September 1951, broken off in December, and finally resumed in May of this year:

"The treaty provides for a Polish export worth 117 million Danish *kroner* in exchange for Danish goods valued at 82 million *kroner*.

"Denmark already has credits of 28 million *kroner* derived from deliveries to Poland during the past few months. To permit the Danes to include this balance, the agreement will run from December 1, 1951 to November 30, 1952.

"Polish deliveries include 750,000 tons of coal to be delivered during the next six months at \$17.62 per ton as against an earlier \$22.00. Fuel exports will run to about 90 million Danish *kroner* and will include some 100,000 tons of coke dust. . . . The balance of 28 million *kroner* will be made up in bunker coal, liquid gas, pharmaceutical and chemical products, textiles, machinery and glassware. Danish fees in Polish ports will also be deducted from this balance.

"Denmark will export seeds, fish, machinery, engines, chemical and pharmaceutical products (including penicillin), maritime equipment, five used fishing trawlers, automobile spare parts, and transit goods. Danish exporters will have to submit an end-use declaration to the proper authorities before sending out any 'strategic' items."

. . . and Sweden

Following the Danish announcement, the Swedish Coal Importers Association and the Swedish Government's Fuel Commission announced on May 30 that, faced with increased U.S. and British competition, Poland has reduced her coal prices to Sweden by an average of 20 percent. A correspondent writes:

"Since May 7, Swedish coal importers and the Polish Coal Committee have wrestled, in fifteen sessions, over deliveries and prices. In fact, the price question was not settled until the end of the last session. And, although acceptable to Sweden, it still does not constitute (in Swedish business circles) a final settlement.

"Under the agreement, Poland will deliver 1,975,000 tons of coal to Sweden by December 31. . . . Price reductions will save Sweden roughly 40 million Swedish *kroner*. . . . Reductions range from 21.39 to 15.54 *kroner*.

"The lowered price of coal—Sweden's largest single import from Poland—has reduced Poland's export surplus to Sweden which until now was used in payment for nationalized Swedish property in Poland and debts to Sweden. Since the value of goods exchanged between the two countries is now nearly balanced, there arises the question of Swedish dollar or hard currency payments. For this reason, the Swedish delegation has made the reservation that during the present agreement new price negotiations and adjustments may be called for.

"In Sweden these reductions will be passed on to individual and industrial consumers, and it is expected that this in turn will reduce the cost of living index. Poland, on the other hand, now faces a drastic reduction in foreign exchange revenue."

Sugar and Eggs

Official reports from Hamburg, and a July 9 broadcast of the Egyptian Home Service, reveal considerable trade in sugar between Poland, Czechoslovakia, Holland, and Egypt:

"On the heels of the signing of a 15,000 ton sugar transaction with Egypt, Poland and Czechoslovakia reportedly having jointly agreed to export 25,000 tons of

sugar to Holland in exchange for pyrites and phosphates. . . . Larger shipments have been arriving in the harbors of Hamburg and Rotterdam via the Czechoslovak-Polish Lines and the coastal service of the Polish Ocean Lines. . . . This in the light of shortages in both countries which have necessitated a return to sugar rationing. . . . The Dutch have already registered complaints about the low quality of the first shipments. The sugar, they say, has an unpleasant yellow color and on analysis shows impurities . . . said to be due to the premature harvesting of beets. . . . It is also believed that Czechoslovakia will have to purchase some sugar from East Germany in order to meet these and other commitments.

"The Polish Ocean Lines vessel *Warmia* unloaded three and a half million eggs in Hamburg during the first half of June, returned to Gdynia, and arrived a fortnight later with seven and a half million more eggs for Hamburg and an unknown quantity for Rotterdam and Antwerp. . . . Another ship, the *Lech*, brought and unloaded two and a half million eggs at Hamburg and continued to Rotterdam with more. . . . The British ship *Baltower* arrived from Gdynia on June 23 with a cargo of canned meat, 300,000 cans of which were removed at Hamburg. . . ."

Some of the facts contained in the above reports are corroborated by news from Vienna:

"Sweden has cut iron ore deliveries to Czechoslovakia to 50,000 tons for 1952 . . . [and] will cover most of her sugar demand by importing Cuban cane sugar instead of Czechoslovak beet sugar. . . . It is also known that the Soviet Satellites, headed by Czechoslovakia, have sold 10 millions tons of sugar to Western Germany, Holland, and Egypt at the ridiculously low price of 6-9 *koruny* per kilogram (5-8 cents per pound). The 'dumping' nature of the transaction has aroused the protest of the American Federation of Labor.

"Since the exports will not be exchanged for needed goods, but are to be paid for in German, Dutch, and Egyptian currencies, it would appear likely that they are to be used by the Soviet Union to further her cause in Eastern Europe."

Albanian Imports

And in the Albanian daily *Bashkimi* (Tirana), May 7, numerous imports from the USSR and the other captive countries are listed:

"During the last two weeks of April, various goods arrived from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies . . . machines for our new industry, automobile and tractor parts, medicines, laboratory instruments . . . busses, sheet metal, etc. have arrived from Czechoslovakia . . . textiles, metal pipe, nitric acid, etc. from Poland . . . textiles, fertilizers, machines for building roads, etc. from the Democratic Republic of Germany . . . rye, petrol, leather, paper, etc. from Romania."

Report on Domestic Trade

Contrary to the stubborn pace of agricultural collectivization in the Iron Curtain countries, the nationalization of domestic trade has progressed rapidly. However,

incompetence in planning, supervising and deputizing, both in the wholesale and retail set-up, has brought about dissatisfaction, speculation, and rising prices.

The government, in its attempts to create an economic and efficient internal trade, often resorts to such measures as withdrawal of merchandise, confiscation, tax-evasion charges and deportation.

Reports from recent escapees checked against available data give a good picture of the present situation.

Bulgaria:

"Business is almost entirely in the hands of State stores and Cooperatives. There are very few privately owned shops and these are generally found in the suburbs. Usually they have no supply of foodstuffs and the owners are obstructed at every turn in an effort to force them out of business. . . . Private individuals are prohibited from carrying on ambulatory business, but there is a State pushcart business which deals mainly in toys, nicknacks, some food products, sweets, etc. The persons who carry on this business are employees of State stores and Cooperatives, from which they receive their salaries.

"All State stores and Cooperatives sell goods and foodstuffs at prices fixed by the Ministry of Internal Trade. Anyone may buy as much as he wants provided he can pay the prices. At present, the stores are full of all sorts of goods, most of which are national products.

"State pawn shops exist in every one of the larger Bulgarian cities. For every item sold through these shops, the State takes 10 percent of the selling price. For each unsold article or for articles redeemed by the persons who pawned them, the State pawn shops take 10 percent of the estimated value of the article. Steady visitors to these shops are employees whose salaries are insufficient to meet the cost of living, those who once belonged to the old well-to-do class, or persons hostile to the regime who for one reason or another are refused the right to work.

"During the summer months it is almost impossible to buy meat, vegetables and fruit. Large quantities of these products are shipped to members of the Soviet bloc; some is set aside for the State workers' vacation resorts. It is common to see long lines of persons outside butcher shops, and especially fruit and vegetable stores, waiting to buy, after hours in line, half a kilo of tomatoes, peppers, or fruit. The products they do succeed in buying, however, are not of prime quality, but are the leftovers after the best products have been exported.

"Sofia Communist Party leaders buy food at exclusive shops and at reduced prices. This economic favoritism is known to all Bulgarians and they bitterly resent it. Foods which have disappeared on the 'Proletarian' market are to be found in abundance at 'special' markets. Trucks are assigned to transport food to Central Committee members of the Communist Party, ministers, Russian officials, and other ranking dignitaries. . . . Near the corner of Lavele and Stambuliysky Streets, there is a bakery producing the highest quality bread for high officials. Every day a Russian jeep comes to buy bread and when it arrives, all other cars and trucks make room.

"A vegetable shop, catering exclusively to high officials and Russians, is located at Hristo Botev Street and

Slivnitsa Boulevard, directly opposite the vegetable bourse. Every day small government trucks load up with all kinds of vegetables and drive away, even when other shops are entirely without supplies. Ordinary citizens are not allowed to enter this shop. Preferential treatment applies equally to the purchase of clothing and all customers' goods. There are shops for officials and shops for people. Favored Communists can always be recognized by the quality of clothing they wear.

"The new order for domestic trade recently created a special section of State enterprises called 'Popular Stores.' These stores deal in precious metals, stones and jewelry, and will be opened in all the large Bulgarian towns. These stores are in charge of buying second-hand jewelry, which has always maintained its value, and reselling it to other individuals.

"At the beginning of this year, the number of cooperative department stores was 8,415 and the number of State stores, 1,698. In other words, 10,113 stores are under State management. . . . State restaurants totalled 5,667."

Decree No. 84

Domestic trade is regulated by Decree No. 84, issued by the Presidium of the National Assembly on February 20 of this year, the main aspects of which are as follows:

"1. Domestic trade in Bulgaria is carried on according to the State Economic Plan under the supervision of the Ministry of Domestic Trade.

2. The Ministerial Council issues decrees which regulate the development and expansion of domestic trade.

3. Wholesale trade is carried on by State enterprises and Cooperative Unions with the proper authorization granted by the Ministerial Council.

4. Retail trade can be carried on by: a) State commercial enterprises of national and local importance, b) other State enterprises (by decision of the Ministerial Council), c) the Consumers' and Universal Trade Cooperatives, d) Labor Cooperative Farms and Artisans' Cooperatives with the products they produce or manufacture, and e) private persons.

6. Private persons cannot engage in retail trade without the proper license and patent. Persons who trade without these documents are subject to a fine of from 10,000 to 200,000 *leva*, seizure of all merchandise, and the closing down of their store.

9. A merchant who trades in merchandise for which he has no license is subject to a fine of 10,000 to 100,000 *leva* and confiscation of merchandise."

The above decree is accompanied by a set of regulations issued on March 15:

"A retail trade license is issued to a person who can prove:

a) that he is a resident of the community in which he is planning to carry on his business.

b) that he has not been convicted for any crimes of a general character under the penal law.

c) that he has not been affected by the laws nationalizing all private industrial and mining companies, large city properties, the law on banks, the

law for confiscating real estate attained unlawfully by black market operations.

d) that he is not a former importer, exporter or wholesale merchant.

e) that he is an honest and reliable citizen of the Republic."

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia) May 29, presented the following figures (in percentages) regarding participation of the State, Cooperative and private sectors in the domestic trade of Bulgaria:

"In 1947, State-controlled trade comprised 12.9 percent of the total turnover. In 1951 it rose to 51.3 percent. . . . The Cooperative sector increased its percentage in the total turnover from 30.2 in 1947 to 47.1 in 1951. Consequently, in 1951 the State and Cooperative-controlled trade comprised 98.4 percent of the overall merchandise turnover, while in 1952 privately controlled trade dropped from 56.9 percent in 1947 to 1.6 percent."

Czechoslovakia:

"The expropriation of private concerns in Czechoslovakia started as early as 1938, with the confiscation of Jewish property in the so-called Sudeten, then occupied by the Nazis. The extent of these confiscations can be estimated at approximately 10 percent of all invested private capital before the war.

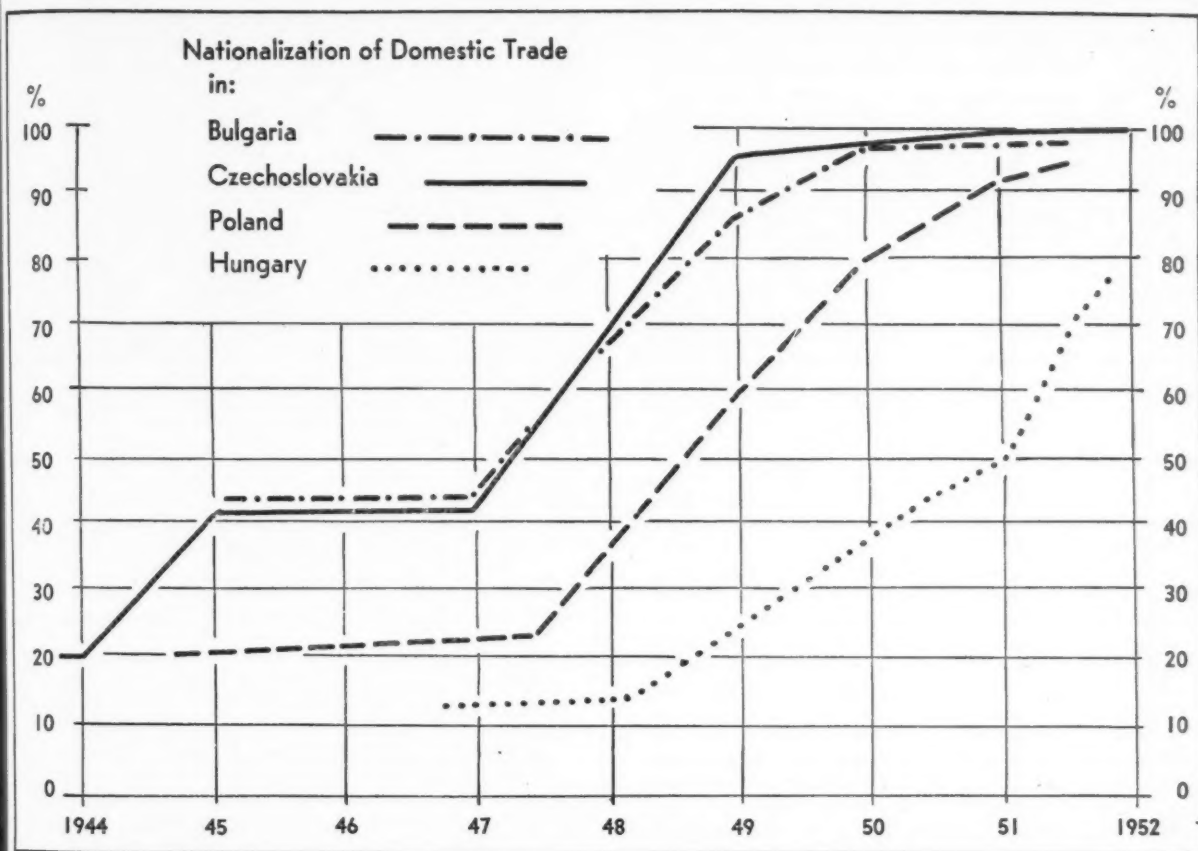
"In 1939, the Nazis confiscated Jewish property in other parts of the country amounting to approximately another 10 percent. In Slovakia and Subcarpathia confiscations were less rigorous, but since more Jewish capital was invested there than in the provinces, it can be assumed that the percentage of confiscation was about the same.

"Some Jews or their legal heirs returned to Czechoslovakia after the war and requested restitution of their property. The provisions of the property restitution law and their implementation were such at that time that most of the applications lost hope and left the country. Almost all property formerly belonging to Jews was taken over by the Czechoslovak government within the framework of the nationalization program.

"A further degree of nationalization was reached by the law on the expulsion of the Germans whose property investments approximately equalled another 20 percent. And the Law of October 28, 1945 which dealt primarily with banks and large industrial enterprises, affecting 2 percent of their invested capital.

"The next step toward total nationalization was carried out illegally by 'Action Committees' which were assigned by the Communists to all larger enterprises during the days of the February coup d'etat in 1948. Their unlawful activities were legalized on April 24, 1948, by another law of nationalization, affecting all wholesale and retail organizations employing over 50 persons. Immediately afterward, amendments were adopted which stipulated that any enterprise, even the smallest, could be nationalized upon the suggestion of the Local National Committee. In consequence, 95.1 percent of all property invested in enterprises was nationalized by the end of 1949. . . .

"176 pharmacies in Prague were nationalized by the end of 1949. . . . 100 pharmacies remained in private



hands, (as long as the owner was working without an assistant) but even these were taken over in 1950 by the State company 'Medica'. The procedure in other fields was similar. The owners were forced by threats and other means to form cooperatives or to join groups of already nationalized enterprises.

"Numerous trade and Consumer's Cooperatives, which have not been nationalized, are entirely controlled by the Communist Council of Cooperatives. The number of cooperative stores, which amounted to 7,381 in 1948, has been increased to 25,439 in 1950. This would suggest that many private stores, under the threat of nationalization, have joined the cooperatives."

Hungary:

"From 1945 to the spring of 1948, efforts to nationalize wholesale and retail trade were hampered by the resistance of anti-Bolshevik parties and the masses. Little success was achieved and that only with Russian help and in certain limited fields, e.g. all commercial firms which could be listed as German property. However, the regime did succeed in gradually nationalizing several big agricultural and other cooperatives. Nationalization of wholesale trade on a large scale really began in 1948 and was completed in 1949. . . . By that year, 45 percent of the retail stores and 60 percent of the entire retail

business were operated by the State. Some of the measures put into effect included the withdrawal of merchandise (supplies being completely State-owned), confiscation of stores, trumped-up charges of tax evasion, and the deportation of store owners. The rate of nationalization varies with different branches of trade. Restaurants, bars, liquor stores, butcher shops, and barber shops have been almost 100 percent nationalized.

"In January 1952, in the report on the Five Year Plan, it was claimed that 82 percent of the retail trade was operated by the State. However, the number of State-owned retail stores constituted only 60 percent of all retail outlets. The present number of State-owned stores in Hungary, including restaurants and bars, is 20,000. It should be noted that the cooperatives, which all belong to the National Federation of Cooperatives are just as much State-controlled as are the State stores. However, they are gradually being taken over and preference given to the State-owned 'people's stores.'

"At present, approximately 67 percent of all retail stores are State-owned and 91-92 percent of the entire retail business State-controlled. . . . The nationalization of handicraft has not yet reached this stage . . . [It is being] carried out by the National Handicraft Association which unites the workers of different trades into handicraft collectives. Approximately 30 to 35 percent

of the trades have been nationalized to date. Between April and June 1952, certain branches, such as tool-makers' workshops, have been almost completely nationalized. . . .

"Nationalized retail trade constitutes a great problem for the government because the introduction of bureaucratic methods kills all initiative and turns the sales people into an arrogant, exclusive class who care little about how their customers are supplied. The papers are full of complaints against these salespeople."

Poland:

"Domestic trade can be divided into two parts, urban and rural. Urban trade is either handled directly by the State Universal Warehouses (PDT), Municipal Retail Trade (MHD), or is in the hands of Cooperative Centrals, which are completely supervised by the government, (the network of Consumer's Cooperatives, Craftsmen's Cooperatives, and Artisan's Centrals). The Universal Warehouses are erected in larger urban communities. In 1950, there were 91 and in 1951, 14 new ones were completed. The largest ones were erected in Warsaw and Gdansk. . . . Municipal Retail Trade, serving larger urban communities, was organized in October 1949. . . . In 1951, the whole country was covered by 102 enterprises of the Municipal Retail Trade, which supervised around 8,000 stores. . . . The Consumer's Cooperatives have around 18,000 stores. However, the Craftsmen's Cooperatives and the Artisan's Centrals possessed a relatively small number of sales outlets and relied mainly on the services of the rural retail set-up: Municipal Retail Trade and Consumers' Cooperatives. . . . The establishment of communal dining halls has been considerably expanded. In 1951, their number reached 5,682. Moreover, Supply Centers for Workers are providing and managing cafeterias, tailor, shoe, and barber shops.

"In rural trade, the agricultural cooperative organization—Peasant Self-Help Union—has complete supervisory control of the rural cooperative stores located in towns. . . . In 1951, there were 3,630 of these cooperatives and 30,000 rural stores. Since there are over 40,000 rural communities in Poland, it appears that not all villages are equipped with a store. And as there are four different types of rural stores: clothing, textile and fancy goods, hardware, 'cultural', and food, it is also apparent that there is an insufficient number of each kind to supply every village. In order to relieve the inconvenience of the population in this respect, the creation of mobile shops was undertaken in 1951. . . . Socialized domestic commerce had at its disposal around 72,700 retail outlets at the end of 1951. . . . About 30,000 small private stores still exist.

"In spite of a considerable expansion in socialized trade, the number of retail stores is still insufficient. Last year the press devoted much space to criticism of the defective distribution of retail outlets and their scarcity in various sometimes thickly populated districts. However, the essential weak point is . . . the incompetence of the whole trade set-up . . . the shortage of trained sales personnel, and the red tape covering commer-



Peasant Self-Help Cooperatives in the Szamotuly district serve village consumers, not only by running village stores, but also by maintaining mobile retail units. The most active in this respect is the village cooperative of Duszniki, whose employees have built a van which tours the countryside four times weekly, serving two villages daily.

(From *Gazeta Handlowa*, July 11)

cial transactions. Poor planning in the merchandise supply system presents another serious drawback. . . . Rural stores and warehouses are overstocked with such goods as bathing suits, lipsticks, Eau de Cologne, etc. . . . but are short of nails, pails, scythes, and even salt. During 1951, newspapers published many articles on this subject, and in August 1951, a special decree was passed concerning prosecution of commercial abuses. Shortage of merchandise in the stores is largely the result of insufficient production and excessive export.

"The original assumption was that nationalized retail trade would operate on a profit-making basis. As a matter of fact, Socialized stores show a deficit. Unwilling to meet this deficit from the Treasury, the régime has dropped its policy of stable prices. In 1951, prices increased from 50 to 100 percent, depending on the type of goods. In 1948, through the so-called 'Fight For Trade,' the government explained to the public, that the elimination of the chain of private intermediaries would cause a decrease in prices and that the main beneficiary of this reform would be the public itself. However, the government has since avoided publishing an index of wholesale prices. From available data it is still possible to conclude that wholesale and retail prices are much greater at present than before the war. . . .

"It should also be mentioned that the nationalization of trade has brought about a very different attitude toward customers. In Socialized stores salespeople treat customers contemptuously and even as intruders who are wasting their valuable time and hindering their work. Attempts have been made to improve this situation but have so far produced no visible results."

A Polish refugee, who escaped from Lower Silesia in June, gives the breakdown of regional shops. There are

three categories—"Those accessible to the general public, UB [Security Police] and Militia shops, and Soviet shops. (The latter serving only members of the Soviet Armed Forces stationed in that region.) He gave the following comparative list of prices (in *zlotys*):

Articles (per kilogram)	Ordinary shops	UB & Militia shops	Soviet shops
Pork	13.00	11.70	7.50
Lard	12.50	11.10	—
Ham	12.40	10.80	—
Beef	6.90	5.80	—
Butter	22.00	17.80	8.30
Margarine	11.20	6.10	5.80
Oil	11.20	5.65	—

"As a result of the difference in prices, black market activities have developed, especially where Soviet units are stationed. For example, butter from Soviet shops, almost unobtainable for Polish civilians, is sold by Soviet soldiers for 40 to 50 *zlotys* per kilo. . . . Soviet soldiers buy herring at 4.90 *zlotys* a kilo and re-sell them for at least 22 *zlotys* per kilo. . . . 'Carbone' nylons cost 70 *zlotys* a pair in Soviet shops and are re-sold for 180 *zlotys*. Woolen fabrics for which Soviet soldiers pay 90 *zlotys* a metre are re-sold for 300 *zlotys* a metre. . . . There is no shortage of meat and fats in UB and Militia shops, and in special Soviet Army canteens."

Romania:

"From 1948 to 1949, the number of industrial and commercial enterprises which were absorbed by the State reached 47,479—74.9 percent industrial, 1.4 percent transportation, 21.8 percent commercial and banking, and 2 percent miscellaneous. Of the 35,543 industrial enterprises seized, 1,095 were extracting industries and the rest processing industries, 50 percent of which dealt chiefly with foodstuffs.

"During 1949 all wholesale trade, as well as 80 percent of the retail trade, including pharmacies and drug-stores, was taken over by the State.

"All consumer goods were distributed in rural sections through supply cooperatives and their branches. In January 1950, there were 5,632 rural cooperatives operating and 11,409 shops, as well as 3,700 machine and farm tool workshops. These cooperatives collect the farmer's produce and supply him with such items as cotton cloth, thread, footwear, iron, and tools which are available through the cooperatives at prices established by 'Centrocoop' (Central Union of Supply Cooperatives)."

Official figures published at the end of last year [as given by Miron Constantinescu in a speech reported in *Scanteia* on January 3] claim only 76 percent of the domestic trade is in the hands of the government.

The 24 percent of the domestic trade still considered free enterprise is made up of government-sponsored Artisan Cooperatives consisting of 5 occupational divisions: tailors and weavers, metal and chemical craftsmen, bootmakers and leather craftsmen, woodworkers and cabinetmakers, and specialty food and other services.

There are 33 Artisan Cooperative Unions under the leadership of the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives.

Their membership is believed to be over 100,000 craftsmen organized in 770 separate units.

Quality Food Stores in Poland

What would seem to be an anachronism appeared in *Gazeta Handlowa* (Warsaw) June 20, which announced the re-establishment of quality food stores in Poland:

"In order to raise the standard of consumer trade, a net of exemplary delicatessen shops will be organized in towns. . . . [They] will carry luxury articles such as tea, coffee, pepper, raisins, all sorts of sweets and chocolates, the better brands of wine, liquor, and such fruit as oranges and lemons. . . . A wide assortment of other articles of high quality such as flour, rice, sugar, canned meat and fish, will also be available. The first shop will open in a few days in Warsaw. Sixteen other such shops will open shortly in Lodz, Katowice, Poznan, Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Gdynia, Wroclaw, Torun, Szczecin, Chorzow, Krakow and Zabrze."

Kurier Codzienny (Warsaw) June 17, declares that the first store in Warsaw will sell imported articles and explains that delicatessens have been revived in order to cut down the speculation in food parcels imported from abroad.

And *Gazeta Handlowa* further states that imported articles carried by delicatessen shops will be repacked—a possible means of concealing the foreign origin of such goods: "High quality goods need to be elegantly and well-wrapped. The majority of articles will have special wrappings on which price and weight will be stated."

Compulsory Delivery Quotas

Speaking at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party, Premier Boleslaw Bierut devoted a considerable part of his speech to the question of the economic relationship between towns and villages and reassured the peasant farmers that the expansion of compulsory delivery quotas was not a threat to their position.

"In the economic exchange between village and town, the matter of State reserves is of far reaching importance. . . . The capitalist elements—such as kulak speculators—attempt to exploit the market situation and force a rise in the prices of scarce agricultural products, a situation only recently come into being. One of the measures taken by the State to safeguard the working people was the introduction of compulsory deliveries of a part of such marketable products as bread, grain, livestock or meat, potatoes, and milk; that is, the most fundamental agricultural products. . . . Does the expansion of compulsory deliveries mean a change in the policy of the People's State towards the working peasant? Does the policy aim at the abolition of the free market circulation of agriculture products? No! The task of the State is not the abolition of free trade in agricultural goods. Compulsory deliveries will continue to comprise only a part of marketable production . . . the remaining part of this production, the farmer may dispose of freely on a free market."

However, Roman Zambrowski, vice-chairman of the Sejm, speaking at a meeting of village correspondents in Warsaw (29-30 June), in his denunciation of speculators

quoted another section of Bierut's speech which appeared to contradict these promises of free disposal. Radio Warsaw of June 4 announced:

"As the result of considerable increases in free market prices for agricultural products, the well-to-do peasantry have profited at the expense of the working people. Instead of the proper process—in which the countryside should contribute its share to the Socialist cause—the reverse has taken place. Part of working class income is being pumped into the countryside and has gone into the pockets of kulaks and middle farmers who had a surplus, and to the town 'capitalists' who have started to prosper again. . . . These maneuvers of kulaks finally have caused a shift in national income at the expense of the working class and the People's State."

"... Not Through Free Trade"

Radio Tirana, on June 26, voiced a similar interest in town and country free trade relations in its summary of an article published in *Zeri i Popullit* (Tirana), organ of the Albanian Workers' Party:

"The Cooperatives should understand the Party line as fixed by the Politburo, with a view to strengthening the exchange of goods between villages and towns, thereby strengthening other relations between the two. The Cooperatives should struggle against speculation and should do everything to promote the exchange of goods directly with the villages and not through free trade. Stalin teaches us that the Cooperatives have a great role to play in the establishment of good relations between village and town, and thus they can help in the complete collectivization of the villages."

II. INDUSTRIAL PROSPECTS

The general tendency of the USSR to think of the Satellite countries as a single economic bloc colors their present industrial development.

Hungary is Europe's main source of bauxite, one of the most valuable and scarce basic materials, and naturally, the Soviet Union is exercising every possible pressure to overcome the present lag in production. In its June 5 broadcast, Radio Budapest commented on the present situation:

"Our editorial today deals with the tasks lying ahead of the Hungarian bauxite industry. Hungary has one-tenth of the world's bauxite deposits and some 60 percent of those in Europe. The total amount of prospective bauxite is estimated by scientists at 300 billion tons. Before the liberation, the bulk of bauxite production—about 96 percent—was exported to Germany to be processed into alum earth and aluminum, and to increase the profits of German, British, and Swiss capitalists. This changed completely after the liberation when, with the aid of the Soviet Union, the biggest and most up-to-date alum earth factory was built under the Three Year Plan.

"As a result of large government investments, 20 times more aluminum was produced in 1951 than in 1938, and today, nearly 50 percent of the bauxite is being processed in this country with the ratio rising continuously. This year's Plan provides for 53 percent higher bauxite production; however, the bauxite industry has so far failed to reach the target set for the first quarter.

"One of the main reasons for this lag may be laid to the extremely slow pace in adopting modern Soviet production methods. Some engineers claim that the target set by the Ministry is unattainable because of the lack of trolleys and other means of conveyance, yet it has been proved that this difficulty can be easily overcome by smoother and more balanced work and maximum exploitation of the available machinery and means of transportation.

"Another factor accounting for the deficiency is the lax work discipline in many bauxite mines. Our State fully appreciates the work of the bauxite miners, who are getting 'loyalty bonuses' for their steadfast efforts and enjoy the same facilities as the miners of the coal industry."

In connection with the above report an escaped Hungarian economist presents the following analysis:

"Bauxite production in Hungary began to flourish in the years preceding World War II; in 1937 it amounted to approximately 500,000 tons—13.7 percent of the world's total. In 1943, Hungary produced one million tons of bauxite and became the leading producer in Europe and fourth largest in the world. At that time Hungary used one-sixth of her production for manufacturing aluminum, and exported the rest.

"After World War II, the Soviet Union took possession of Hungarian bauxite. It established three firms with Russia and Hungary sharing their profits. However, all three firms are under complete Soviet control.

"At present more than one and a half million tons of bauxite are produced in Hungary. Until 1948 most of the bauxite was exported to the Soviet Union. The Soviets soon discovered that it was more reasonable to have the aluminum processed by Hungarian labor, and construction of aluminum plants was begun in Hungary. The famous Stalin Iron Works, the pride of the regime is primarily an aluminum plant. However, aluminum processing by electrolysis requires a tremendous amount of electric power—22,000 hp per ton. So, with Czechoslovak help, the Inota-Danube Hydroelectric Power Plant was built. Hungary's present aluminum output is 47,000 tons. The surplus bauxite is exported to East Germany and Czechoslovakia."

Expanding Industry

Besides its specific interest in bauxite production, the Communist government is making every effort to increase the entire industrial capacity of Hungary and the tasks assigned to that country within the general Soviet plan are steadily increasing. Industry is being expanded and new plants are being established. The list of new factories built this year was published in the July 6 issue of the Buda-

pest daily, *Szabad Nep.*

"The new [Diosgyor] blast furnace has been pouring out pig iron for the past two months. . . . A huge new Martin furnace is now being built. . . . In Hejoscaba, a new concrete factory is being built, in which the furnace refuse will be processed. . . . The walls of the new metal foundry are almost up. This plant, with its up-to-date mechanical equipment, will be able to produce machine-tool castings. . . . The construction of a new dynamo plant will be finished this year. . . . The Gyor Railway Carriage and Machine Factory will be expanded.

"A new workshop is being added to the Hungarian State Iron and Machine Factory in Budapest, and a new pump factory will start operating in a few days.

"The Balinka Model Mine has been giving us coal since December of last year, and by next year it will be producing at almost full capacity. . . . In the Petofi Mines we have begun excavating two new inclined shafts. They will be ready this year and will increase the coal output by 30 percent. . . . Production will begin this year, in fact has partly begun, in the Terv Pit [Plan Pit] at Sajokazinc, in the Disz mine shaft at Tatabanya in the new pit at Gyongyos, in Shaft No. 2 at Edeleny, in the new shaft at Kanyas and in the new pit at Pilis. . . . In shaft No. XIX at Oroszlany, production will begin this year. . . . Significant progress has been made on the construction of Double Shaft No. XX, at Oroszlany. . . . Mechanized surface excavation will begin in Szentgal in a few weeks.

"This year twelve brick and tile factories have been completely reorganized. The brick factory at Maly began production in May. . . . The Hejoscaba concrete factory is being built in the vicinity of Miskolc; it will be one of the most up-to-date factories in Europe. . . . The first tests are being made at the Lime Kiln at Belapatfalva. . . . full-scale production will begin this year. The construction of a similar plant will be started in Dorog. The Budapest Building Material Factory is already working at full capacity. . . .

"At Hodmezovarshely and Szekszard, new plants are being built in which cotton is separated. . . . Our greatest investment in light industry is in the spinning mill at Kaposvar, on which construction was begun last year, and this year one section has already been put into operation. . . . The Lorinc and Kobanya Spinning Mills will be expanded and a total of 30,000 new spindles will be installed. . . . approximately 300 other light industry plants will be expanded.

"The capacity of refrigeration plants will be expanded in order to accommodate 2,000 more carloads of food. Large deep-freeze store houses will be built in Gyor and Debrecen. The new deep-freeze storehouse in Gyor will be an up-to-date five-storey building, in which food will be processed according to the most recent achievements of Soviet science. . . . the deep-freeze storehouse in Debrecen will convert the Debrecen slaughter house into a large up-to-date meat processing plant. . . . A poultry processing plant has also been added in which 20,000 birds are processed daily. . . .

"The new dairies in Szolnok and Zalaegerszeg will soon go into operation. Excellent quality butter, yogurt, cottage cheese, cream and sour cream will be processed

at these plants. . . . Two new bread factories will be built this year, one in Veszprem. . . . the other in our flourishing mining town of Oroszlany. . . ."

"99 Percent Nationalized"

The Albanian Telegraph Agency (Tirana) June 26, gave a brief report on Albania's nationalized production:

"At present, nationalized production amounts to 99 percent of all industrial production, [which] increased last year by almost four times that of 1938. During the Five Year Plan, 5 billion 242 million *leks* are to be invested in the Socialized sector—187 times more than total investments in 1938. Industrial production will be six times greater than that of 1950 by the end of 1955."

Production Inefficiencies in Bulgaria

While the Hungarian Press published news of industrial expansion, the Bulgarian daily *Troud* (Sofia) published a veritable barrage of complaints throughout June regarding industrial inadequacies and mismanagement.

On June 11 the situation at the G. Dimitrov mines was attacked:

"There are pits, such as T. Nenkov, Tolbuhin, Brigadir, D. Blagoev, and many others, which regularly fail to fulfill their production plans. . . . Competition has not yet been introduced as a regular method of work. The Trade Union committee at the Tolbuhin pit does not even know the number of promises which have been given by the workers. . . . Labor discipline is on a very low level. During the first quarter, 5,234 days of absenteeism were reported. In many cases workers leave their jobs early. . . ."

Concerning the Marbas mine in the Maritza basin, on June 13:

"The giants of our industry—the chemical combine, Stalin, and the thermo-electrical power station, Vulko Chervenkov—are being supplied with coal from the State mining enterprise, Marbas. . . . During the first quarter of this year, Marbas fulfilled its plan by barely 79.66 percent, and for the month of April—74.55 percent. . . ."

An editorial dated June 24 and entitled, "To Ameliorate Timber Production," discussed the lag in lumber production:

" . . . Production of lumber is seriously behind schedule. By July 10 of this year, the yearly plan was fulfilled by only 44.7 percent in woodcutting and by 36.4 percent in timber transport. Up to June 15, the monthly plan for cutting hardwood for tile boards was fulfilled by only 33.6 percent, for rail ties by 42.2 percent, for veneer panels by 44.5 percent, etc. The timber enterprises and collectives in the regions of Bourgas, Gotze Delchev, Botevgrad, as well as many others, are lagging behind. Two of the main reasons for these common and inexcusable drawbacks are the low level of labor disci-

* The coal produced by the G. Dimitrov and the Maritza basin mines represents 90 per cent of Bulgarian coal production. G. Dimitrov produces soft coal which contains from 4,100 to 5,500 calories and the Maritza basin provides lignite coal which contains from 2,200 to 2,800 calories.

pline and constant personnel changes.

"Most of the workers do not report for work regularly, arrive late, argue about their remunerations, and look for easier assignments. . . . Many truck drivers do not take transport problems seriously and do not organize competitions among themselves. . . . Recently, the timber enterprise of Koprivtchitza was not in a position to pay its employees because money was tied up in stacked lumber. At the seaports of Ahtopol, Sinemoretz, etc., approximately four million kilograms of charcoal have been stacked, despite the acute shortage of charcoal on the local markets."

On June 8, an editorial entitled "The Reasons Behind the Nonfulfillment of Construction Plans" criticized construction:

"Never before have the various government agencies come forward with so many unprepared plans. Of 332 construction projects entrusted to the Sofia Construction Corporation, only two were contracted for by January 10, 110 by January 31 (42.2 percent of the over-all number of the planned projects), and 114 projects were lacking the necessary paper documentation by the end of May. The situation is the same throughout the entire country.

"The Ministry of Heavy Industry has not provided blueprints for such big industrial projects as the cellulose plan, the plant for tannic acid extraction, the expansion of the Vulkan Cement Plant, the ore purifying factories, the match plant, etc. The Ministry of Food Supplies, so far, has only prepared plans for the foundations of the new food-canning plant in Svichov, on which work was begun, but abandoned shortly afterwards.

"Work had to be stopped on many of the construction projects in Sofia and elsewhere due to lack of bricks, construction iron, hardwood, nails, etc. . . . The Rouse Construction Corporation work stoppage was due to the lack of lime, gravel, sand. . . .

"The distribution of construction machinery is also mismanaged. This year the industrial city of Dimitrograd was virtually swamped with machinery, while in many other parts of the country there is an acute shortage."

And plants which do meet their quotas usually produce inferior goods. *Troud* revealed on June 8 that:

"The labor collective at G. Dimitrov Farm Machinery Plant in Rouse, overfulfills its production plan every month at the expense of quality. In the plant yard there are 200 horse-driven harvesters which the State enterprise Zemsrab refuses to buy because of their poor quality. These machines can be repaired, but nobody seems to care, although the harvest season is rapidly approaching.

"Many Tractor Stations, State, and Cooperative farms continue to send complaints about the quality of farm machinery which they have bought from the plant through the State enterprise Zemsrab."

Conservation Drive

The above attacks against the inadequacies of Bulgarian industry were accompanied by an intensive drive to utilize waste and to conserve wherever possible.

Troud of May 17: "A great part of our need for cellulose can be met by waste paper which is to be found in large quantities in every household, office, plant, etc. . . . The collection of waste paper will allow us to allocate large quantities of pine lumber, from which cellulose is derived, for our construction projects.

"One milogram of waste paper costs the factory from 22 to 28 leva and is equal to 800 grams of cellulose which costs from 70 to 90 old leva. . . . 250 grams of waste paper is equal to one cubic meter of pine lumber."

. . . *Transporten Glass* (Sofia), May 17: "Rail ties are a large expenditure in the upkeep of railroad lines. Usable ties, in spite of the acute shortage, are being wasted and destroyed." . . . *Troud*, May 22: "Due to the lack of grey iron used for manufacturing bolts and nuts, the G. Chervenkov factory in Rouse has been stocked with tons of uncompleted bolts since the end of last year."

. . . *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia), June 3: "The Sredets combine is manufacturing door catches made of bakelite reenforced with scrap iron. The new door catches are solid, much cheaper, and help us to conserve non-ferrous metals such as brass, bronze and aluminum for our national economy."

. . . *Troud*, June 5: "We have been unable to supply the planned quantities of edible oil allocated to Pazardjik, Velingrad, Gotse Delchev and Razlog for the month of April due to the lack of steel drums. . . . The need for steel drums is great. . . . We have tried to buy them on the free market, but have not been able to find any."

. . . *Vecherni Novini*, June 13: "The Ministerial Council has issued a decree which forbids motor transports of loads for distances of less than 8 kilometers. Such loads will be transported by carts driven by horses, oxen and other beasts of burden."

. . . *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), June 15: "The lumber enterprise in Velingrad badly needs flat files for sharpening saws, axes and the bands of motor saws. During the last 7-8 months the enterprise hasn't received a single file from the Timber and Lumber Transport Management."

. . . *Vecherni Novini*, May 14: "Our food enterprises collect all empty food jars, so that they may re-use them. . . . In 1951, and during the first quarter of 1952, several million food jars filled with vegetables and fruits were marketed. It is essential that these jars, after their contents have been used, be sent back to the food factories. They can be returned through all stores and all offices of the State Scrap Materials Enterprise. By a special decree of the Ministerial Council all the above-mentioned organizations have been ordered to accept food jars and to pay back the deposit, and if there is none, to pay back the value of the jars.

The same applies to the delivery of old tin cans. . . ."

Conference of Scientists

From May 16 to 18, 1952, a scientific conference of chemists was held in Warsaw.

The conference was discussed by Marjan Axt, director of the Technical Department of the Ministry of Chemical Industry, and a member of the Organizational Committee of the Conference, in an interview with a representative of the PAP [Polish Press Agency], and was published in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) on May 13:

"The scheme of the Six Year Plan—to assign to the

chemical industry the role of becoming, after the coal industry, second in national importance—was based on the use of such raw materials as coal, lime and salt. However, a great chemical industry requires the expansion of this base to include new raw materials. One of the most important is sulphur, which constitutes one of the world's scarcest raw materials. Normal development of the chemical industry is impossible without sulphur, as can be seen in the fabrication of artificial yarn or, more important, in the production of phosphorous fertilizers.

"Scientists in the chemical field will direct their efforts to obtaining new mineral raw materials needed in the production of phosphorous and potassium fertilizers. These new mineral raw materials exist in large quantity in our country, but are insufficiently exploited.

"The aim of our scientists will be to apply the most modern methods, worked out in this country or transmitted to us by the Soviet Union and People's Democracies, which were insufficiently studied in pre-war Poland.

"All these efforts will have far-reaching importance for the development of our synthetic fertilizers industry [which] will have a decisive bearing on the improvement of soil productiveness, and of all agricultural production."

Reports dealing with geo-chemistry, mineral raw materials, the production of cement, potassium, problems connected with the manufacture of sulphuric acid from gypsum and anhydrite, and concerning geological explorations for industrial needs, were delivered by a host of scientists and government experts, including prominent representatives of the Soviet Union.



"During one Stakhanovite work shift, Marie Bystricanova and Marie Ricicova, members of bricklayer Norbert Cisar's troika [three-man work group], moved 18,000 bricks."
(Reprinted from the Czechoslovak daily *Mlada Fronta*, Prague, July 12)

Estonian State Loan

According to Communist propagandists, the Soviet states should have the lowest taxes in the world. In the budgets there is no exact information about the sources from which money is derived for the State Treasury. Actually, the use of the so-called State Loan is a form of direct taxation, *Rahva Haal*, (Tallinn) May 9, reports that: "Estonian workers . . . accepted the new USSR State Loan . . . with great enthusiasm." But on May 21 the same newspaper made a public announcement which reveals the real character of the "voluntary" loan:

"The Office of the Estonian SSR State Savings Banks and State Credits informs the heads and chief-bookkeepers of all enterprises, offices and organizations, that in accordance with a directive of the Soviet Ministry of Finance, the first part-payment by subscribers to the USSR State loan (Issue of 1952) for the development of the USSR people's economy is due. Payments will be deducted from May salaries and transferred to the State budget upon receipt from a State Bank for the payment of salaries."

III. LABOR: SHORTAGES, TURNOVER, AND CONTROL

Continuous labor shortages (especially in industry) and such wide-spread expressions of discontent as labor turnover, have brought about a series of decrees and regulations in the captive countries of Eastern Europe. Speeches by high government officials and decisions by various organizations outline solutions which resort to penal sanctions, intensified control and restriction, and in at least one instance, the eclipse of the Trade Unions as the workers' bargaining agent by the introduction of still another managerial responsibility.

In Czechoslovakia, this widespread practice of changing jobs was recently commented upon by J. Hronek in a broadcast over Radio Prague on June 12:

"Just imagine, within a quarter of a year, one-half of the inhabitants of Prague moving elsewhere, to be replaced during the same period by newcomers! What upheaval, what disorder, what a loss of time and money, what an economic disaster! However, something very similar occurs continually in our Republic. As Prime Minister Zapotocky remarked in his recent speech [see July issue of *NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN*, page 33], the turnover in manpower during one-quarter of a year in the Prague region alone affects 46,023 workers. When applied to the entire Republic, the figure is almost a million. . . ."

According to President Boleslaw Bierut's speech [to which *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) devoted about twelve pages in its issues of June 20 to 23] at the Seventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers'

Party, "the increase in non-agricultural labor during the years 1946-1952 is expected to reach 2,500,000 workers." He also stated that the main sources of new industrial labor are village peasants and women and that "women now represent 30.4 percent of total non-agricultural employment . . . 29 percent are in industry, 13.2 percent are in communications, and 10.4 percent are in the construction industry [and] those figures are expected to increase." And complained of the excessive labor turnover. "In 1951, 42.3 percent of the workers in the coal industry, 39 percent in the engineering industry, 32.2 percent in rolling stock production, and 66.1 percent in the sulphur and phosphate industries changed their jobs." To deal with these labor shortages and turnover, Bierut announced that labor conscription and the strengthening of existing job regulations would be necessary.

The existing regulations which Bierut regards as too lax are contained in the Statute of March 7, 1950, and are summarized in the DIGEST-INDEX OF EAST EUROPEAN LAW as follows:

"To counteract labor turnover, certain categories of persons, qualified in professions and trades particularly important to socialized industry, may be obliged to continue in their occupations or jobs, according to their qualifications, for a period not exceeding two years.

"Categories of employees subject to such limitations are set up in the ordinance of the Council of Ministers, which may impose either a general 'freeze' in certain trades or categories of employment, or may indicate certain professions or trades within which special prohibitions regarding employment changes may be issued.

"The effect of such a 'freeze,' either general or individual, is that the work contract continues to be valid. Persons concerned have no right to dissolve their work contracts. . . .

"Those leaving their employment in contravention of the individual or general 'freeze' are subject to penal sanctions . . . detention for a period up to six months, or a fine up to 150,000 *zlotys*, or both.

"Two ordinances of the Council of Ministers, of April 17, 1950 (Dz. U. No. 18, Law No. 153), and of September 13, 1950 (Dz. U. No. 43, Law No. 388), have imposed the 'freeze' on a number of trades and professions, primarily involving intellectual employees."

At the same time, in order to offset the passive resistance of workers, Bulgaria is focussing attention upon "cultural work," a decision adopted by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Trade Unions on June 6 and 7 in Sofia.

On June 28, Radio Sofia broadcast a lecture by Alexander Nassev in which he said:

"The complete and conscious induction of the working class in the struggle for socialization cannot be realized without political and cultural-educational work. . . . For each quarter of 1951 an average 49,000 lectures were held at the various enterprises and offices throughout the country, 13,000 of which were on producing-technical themes. . . . And 37 evening high schools, 34 factory schools, and 233 technical schools, with special classes for shock-workers and distinguished production workers,

were opened. These schools are training technical-leadership cadres for our industry. Workers' preparatory candidate-students' courses have been organized, and 1990 persons trained for various educational institutions. . . . More than 1,200 persons have enrolled during the present year. For the period between 1948 and 1951, 133,900 workers have been educated, and the training of another 120,000 is planned. Trade Unions have organized 3,500 libraries at the various plants, public offices and construction projects, which have more than 1,100,000 books at their disposal. Many mobile workers' libraries have also been organized. . . ."

New Role for Trade Unions

An important step towards the reorganization of the Czechoslovak Trade Unions, which Prime Minister Antonin Zapotocky called for on June 6, (see July issue of *NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN*, page 33) has just been taken at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) in Prague on July 17. As reported by Radio Prague on July 18, the present chairman of the Central Committee, Frantisek Zupka (who was elected chairman of the URO on July 1, 1950, replacing Antonin Zapotocky), was replaced by Gustav Kliment, Minister of Heavy Industry. During his tenure, the Czechoslovak Trade Unions lost the last remnants of independence, becoming primarily an agency for the enforcement of labor discipline. The simultaneous assignment of the Minister of Heavy Industry to the chairmanship of the Council of Trade Unions stresses the priority of heavy industry in the Czechoslovak economy. It also contradicts the reason given by Antonin Zapotocky for his resignation two years ago: "the functions of the Trade Unions should not be linked with those of the Cabinet." (*Rude Pravo*, July 2, 1950).

The same Committee decided on June 19, to take the initiative for the further collectivization of agriculture. According to *Prace* (Prague), June 20, the main feature of this new step toward increased collectivization is the industrial "patronage" system:

"The importance of industrial patronage for Uniform Agricultural Cooperatives or villages without established Cooperatives, has been stressed in a resolution of the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions. Patronage activities are mainly composed of the systematic political enlightenment and persuasion of farmers. It is important that those activities not be limited merely to help in farm work. . . . Therefore, the Plan Councils have been advised to arrange regular visits to the villages. The workers must convince farmers of the advantages of collective management; they must assist them in organizing their work, in establishing work groups, in fixing norms and in keeping accurate books."

Decree on Employment Cards

In Hungary, the government, in its effort to put an end to the migration of workmen, issued a new decree. According to past regulations, a worker could apply for an em-

employment card after he had entered new employment, but this has been changed under the new decree, published in the April 9 issues of the Budapest daily papers:

"Effective May 1, 1952, employers may employ only workers who submit their employment cards on taking the job. . . . Workers employed for temporary jobs of three days maximum, and agricultural laborers employed for seasonal work (threshing, harvesting), may be engaged without employment cards. The latter, however, must present a certificate made out for this purpose by the Executive Committee of the appropriate Local Council.

A workman who fled the country recently commented on the decree as follows:

"The decree has caused considerable anxiety among the population of the capital. It is feared that persons who do not possess employment cards, but, under the recent manpower mobilization decree, may be forced to work, will be drafted into so-called 'public labor battalions.' Persons serving in those battalions must wear on their left arm a badge with the national colors bearing the inscription 'MSZ' [initials of the Labor Battalion]."

Another report in the May 7 issue of *Szabad Nep* (Budapest) reveals the problems of providing the necessary manpower for agricultural work. While heavy industry has lately absorbed many thousands of peasants, especially women and young people, the official Party organ states that "the manpower reserve of the villages is far from being exhausted":

"There are hundreds of thousands of families who could quickly finish up work on their small holdings, and there are thousands of dependents of State farm employees who are not working. . . . It is the patriotic duty of every peasant to make the best use of his spare time and to sign contracts for agricultural work with State farms or Machine Stations."

General Gorelkin's "Musts"

A government employee who fled from Hungary in May, claims that the instructions of an auditing commission from Moscow, entrusted with the supervision of the Five Year Plan, are now being carried out under the direction of the Soviet General Vladimir Gorelkin, head of the Internal Security section of the Ministry of the Interior. Some of Gorelkin's directives are as follows:

"For added security in supervision, the number of Soviet technical advisers must be substantially increased; competent heads of offices, therefore, must exert their influence on the employees of concerns under their jurisdiction to make them ask of their own volition for Soviet advisers to be appointed not only to executive posts, but to less important clerical positions as well. . . .

"The number of sentences for correctional educative work for discrepancies in matters of labor discipline must be increased in the following way. Sentences for terms up to three months must be increased by eight percent, up to six months by nine percent, and for terms ranging from six months to two years by nine percent.

Factories which employ both paid and corrective labor must be converted into closed factories, which may employ only corrective labor. This reorganization must be put into effect first in State defense construction such as airports, barracks, warehouses, then in war material production factories. . . . The responsibility of the foreman for the auxiliary workmen under him must be made compulsory. . . .

"The shock-worker and Stakhanovite drives in Hungary have still not become mass-movements. They must be expanded to embrace the entire body of workers and peasants as soon as possible. . . . Novel methods of work which have been tested but not yet made compulsory, and work systems which have been tried out in the Soviet Union, must be made compulsory by decree."

An exiled Hungarian factory foreman, who recently fled, summarizes the aims of the Soviet auditing commission as follows:

"1. To increase deportations to a percentage determined in advance, since 'correctional-educative' work is nothing else but deportation.

2. To introduce the principle of 'latent sabotage', when the persons responsible for the quality of work may be legally prosecuted.

3. Creation of 'closed factories' employing only forced laborers.

4. Expansion of 'joint responsibility' to factory groups, or eventually to entire factories."

Distribution of Lithuanian Labor

The shift in the distribution of labor that has taken place in Lithuania since the advent of Communist power, when compared to the situation as it existed in 1939, is typical of the Satellite pattern—the movement from agriculture to industry. Although data is largely estimated, it is possible to construct the way in which that movement has evolved.

Total persons employed	1939	1947	1950	1951
Agriculture, fishing & forestry	1,665,796	1,872,648	1,980,065	2,004,726
Mining, crafts & industry	153,263	229,342	370,420	370,830
Insurance, hotels, commerce, banking	33,982	50,430	71,540	72,840
Transport and communications	13,500	13,200	14,600	14,720
Public service	33,100	53,528	60,520	62,370
Military service	22,000	270,000	320,000	320,000
Personal and domestic service	156,610	51,342	58,930	71,340
Professions	11,660	5,430	6,230	6,825
Other occupations, old aged people & people on pension	122,756	123,523	130,240	130,450
Unemployed	2,822	—	—	—

Flight to Freedom

Five Escaped Fishermen Tell of Life in Soviet Latvia

It took exactly one month for the five Latvian fishermen from Liepaja to gain their freedom. On the evening of June 4, they stepped ashore at Burgsvik on the Swedish island of Gotland and asked for political asylum. On July 3, they were in possession of Sweden's Foreigner's Passport, and the Stockholm Labor Office had found work for them. That same evening they left for their new residences and place of employment, thus ending happily the first Latvian escape since 1948. After the Latvian refugees had been granted asylum and all the protection political refugees are entitled to by the Swedish government, they consented to a visit by representatives of the Soviet Legation. The visitors were the Soviet Consul, accompanied by the repatriation officer, Bernhard Borg. Although they promised the fishermen safety if they returned, and gave "guarantees," the fishermen refused to be repatriated. From these five fishermen comes recent and important information about life in Soviet Latvia.

The five fishermen belonged to the fisherman's artel [an association of laborers for collective work with division of profits], "Bolshevist," which listed some three hundred members, ten of whom were Soviet Russians. Fishermen belong to a privileged class because fish is an important item on the Soviet menu and canned fish from Latvia is shipped to all of the Soviet Republics. Because of the favorable geographical situation of the Baltic States, their canneries have not only been assigned additional workers, but several new canneries have been built. Fishermen earn about 1000 rubles a month (four and a half rubles equal approximately one U.S. dollar at the official exchange rates; black market rates are 30-35 rubles for one dollar) and also have opportunities to smuggle fish directly into the

hands of retailers and so supplement their incomes. Even when this is discovered, the punishment is mild. Very few of the old fishermen are left in Latvia. Most of them have been deported to the Soviet Union and those still in Latvia have been transferred to the Riga artel, where their boats are permitted to cruise only in Riga Bay, from which escape is almost impossible. New fishermen have been drafted who are too young to know about the Western world, on the theory that they will be less tempted to escape. However, these five escapees are all young, only one of them as old as twenty-nine, and the captain of the fishing trawler, Andrejs Tuklers, is only twenty-one years old.

The Baltic fishing fleet consists primarily of the eight hundred motorboats which were returned by Sweden in 1944-1945. Some captured German motorboats have also been added to the fleet. The boat in which the five refugees escaped to Sweden was one of these former German boats, 49 tons, with an 80 horsepower Diesel engine. The fishermen had two tons of fuel when they left Latvia and since the average speed of the boat was 18 kilometers an hour (about 11 mph), they might have made a round trip easily. The fact that fishing craft normally spend two or three days at sea was very advantageous for the escape, because it took some time for them to be missed. In most cases, fishermen do not escape because they fear for retaliations on their families at home. The Soviet Secret Police have circulated rumors in the Baltic States that all who escape to Sweden are denied asylum and immediately returned to their place of origin, and this is another deterrent to escape.

Before leaving port, boats are thoroughly searched. Crew and luggage are both checked and frequently water casks

have to be emptied to make sure that no stowaways have been hidden inside. Each fisherman is issued a temporary permit, good for three months, on which his personal data and photograph are printed. The permit is called *Propuska*, "permission to go to sea for fishing purposes." Only the Riga Bay fishermen do not have to have these permits. In port, a fisherman is given a permit indicating the time and place where the fishing is to be done. This permit has to be signed by the harbor-captain and the commander of the coast guard, and then the boat is ready to leave. Often, fishing in certain places is forbidden, but fishermen sometimes chance fishing in these restricted areas if they anticipate a good catch. Crews are changed often and transferred from one boat to another as a method of preventing intimacy among the crews and so keeping them from cooperative plans to escape. The five refugees have never been on one boat for more than six months.

The artel supplies boats with fuel and tools and for this receives one-half of the boat's income. Compensation is as follows: October 1 to April 1, 80 *kapeikas* (pennies) for first class fish, 71 *kapeikas* for second class fish; from April 16 to October 1, the prices are lower: 60, 51 and 40 *kapeikas* for the three classes of fish, and during the second period more fish are classified in third class. Evaluation is on the basis of a sample of a hundred fish. Earnings are divided, 45 percent for the artel and 55 percent for the fisherman. Twenty percent of the fisherman's share, however, goes to the women who help to unload the boats. Fishermen also receive five kilograms of fish free and special coupons for food and clothing, which are purchased in special stores. The average fisherman's income per month ranges from 1500 to 2000 rubles with all these extras.

Every six days the fisherman has one day off. If a crew member misses the departure time of a boat, the boat waits for him, but he is fined for every hour he is late. Loading and provisioning time are considered time off. Only two days of the year are restricted for fishing: May 1, Labor Day, and November 7, the anniversary date of the Russian Revolution, when all fishermen are required to attend parades. On all other holidays, fishing is permitted.

The Kolkhozes

Living standards on kolkhozes seem to be the worst in Latvia. For one working day, a farmer receives one kilogram of rye [a kilogram is approximately 2.2 pounds], 350 grams of wheat (half a pound), three kilos of potatoes and 60 *kapeikas*. Norms for work vary but there are frequent assignments when a day's work from dawn to night cannot produce the required norm. Those farmers who are granted 0.5 hectares [about an eighth of an acre] of private land are made to pay high taxes in produce, potatoes, meat, and also give 300 liters of milk. If these payments are not made the kolkhoz bookkeeping department deducts the taxes from the peasant's wages for work days performed. Government bonds are also deducted in the same way. Annual settlement for work performed takes place in the fall, after the threshing. In most cases, only an advance is paid in money

and produce, but the final accounting is postponed and sometimes takes place as much as a year later.

In the early morning hours the peasants appear at the executive's office for work assignments. Peasants walk to work. The foreman, responsible for dividing work, often favors friends and relatives. Absence from work results in a reprimand which is read at the following plenary meeting of the kolkhoz. Several reprimands mean punishment. Most of the peasants live in their own farmhouses because plans for providing kolkhoz community housing have simply not been realized. Peasants may leave the kolkhoz only with the manager's consent. Such permission is granted if the peasant wishes to work on another kolkhoz, and in the fall, permits are also granted for short work periods in the city. Large numbers of farmers spend several weeks in Liepaja working at the sugar mill, but when they are finished, they must return to the kolkhoz. During the busy season, the peasants work every day. Lumber is prepared during holidays and sometimes peasants, if they are released from their other duties, work in the lumber camps for the summer.

Salaries and "Real Wages"

White collar workers are paid less than factory workers. In most cases their wages are equal to those of unskilled workers, but the latter are given a chance to do piece work and so increase their earnings. Office employees are usually paid from 400 to 500 rubles a month while industrial workers receive from 500 to 1000 rubles a month. The highest wages are paid to Stakhanovites in heavy industry. The average worker earns between 600 and 800 rubles a month.

What do these salaries buy? In short, what are "real" wages? Prices in Latvia are as follows: bread, the so-called "Stalin's Cake" [loaves on the German Army pattern], which weigh 1.2 kilos are priced at 1.20 rubles; white bread costs 2-4 rubles, and bread is available in good supply. Flour costs 8 rubles per kilo, onions 7 rubles per kilo, and eggs 1.20 rubles apiece. Fresh herring is priced at 5.20 rubles per kilo, margarine at 25 rubles per kilo, and brandy at 22.50 per bottle. Shirts may be bought for 80-100 rubles, silk shirts for 120 rubles, a suit for 600-1000 rubles, socks for 14 rubles, shoes for 360-400 rubles, an overcoat for 1200 rubles. Goods are scarce in the stores and shopwindows are empty. As soon as a retail base has received a shipment, people line up in front of the entrance. Lines frequently begin the night before distribution, in spite of the fact that the quality of most commodities is very poor.

The Housing Shortage

Life in Liepaja is even more difficult because of the extreme housing shortage. After the occupation of Latvia in 1945 all houses were nationalized. Their size did not matter. A few years later, the Soviets came to the conclusion that repairs on small-size dwellings did not pay and in 1949 turned these back to their former owners. No new apartment houses have been erected in Liepaja since the Com-

munist occupation. Old dwellings are in bad condition, and, although the State is responsible for repairs, there are long delays in the work. Building materials are scarce and poor in quality, and timber is in very short supply. Apartments are difficult to come by in Liepaja. An application with last residence, number of dependents, and autobiographies are submitted to the Billeting Board. Now the vicious circle begins for new residents. No one may remain in Liepaja for more than 24 hours without registration. No job can be obtained prior to registration, but no one can register without having a place to live. The break in the circle is achieved by bribery. Billeting officials are given 500-3000 rubles, depending on the size and location of the apartment desired, and the dwelling is available within the 24 hour period. Rents for single rooms are not high, about 12 rubles monthly for 17 square meters. Better rooms are priced up to 50 rubles a month. However, tenants must supply their own fuel to heat the rooms and heating is difficult and expensive. Fuel is almost unobtainable and costs 50 to 100 rubles a month and consists chiefly of sawdust and shavings. Only hospitals, schools and Party buildings have central heating. Furniture is expensive too: a bed costs about 600 rubles, a simple upholstered chair about 200 rubles, and a simple table about 200 rubles. Apartments which have been vacated by refugees and deportees are given to Russian officers wholly furnished. If no Russians are expected to take the dwelling, then the furniture is removed.

The Draft

The number of women far exceed the number of men in Latvia because of the long years of compulsory military service out of the country: three years for infantry, six for the navy, and seven for the air force. After having completed his three compulsory years, the infantryman must remain in service "voluntarily," and usually no one returns from military service before a five year term is completed. Drafted Latvians do not remain in Latvia. There are a few coast guards and there is one Latvian infantry unit stationed in Riga, but the majority of draftees are sent into the USSR. Many of the young people are draft dodgers and because of the great disorder in local administration, this is still not too difficult. Draftees go through the following stages. At 19, a boy reports to his board and is put on a draftee list. A year later he receives his induction order. If the first order is not complied with, a second follows. If that one is ignored, the police come for the boy. Those who work in essential jobs are draft exempt if the employer makes application to the draft board stating reasons for his deferment, but occupational deferments for Latvian youths are rare, and most of them are quickly drafted.

Men, Women and Entertainment

In spite of the shortage of men, life in Liepaja is pretty much womanless. Either the girls have to work too hard in the kolkhozes to be interested in anything except rest, or else they have made friends with the Russians and sit in the more expensive restaurants with them. The Soviet

officers, who earn salaries of about 6000 rubles a month, have more to spend. Latvian girls make do with very little. Lipstick is very scarce and a hairdresser an almost unknown luxury. "Kapron" [a synthetic] stockings are sold in three qualities priced from 31 to 60 rubles and are not very good. Silk stockings of inferior quality sell for 25 rubles. Dresses are scarce and of shoddy fabrics, as well as being poorly styled.

Life in Liepaja is boring. There are only four restaurants where one can dance, but few Latvians frequent them because they are too expensive, and because there are too many Russians about with whom quarrels frequently start. Latvians go either to the cheap "Amerikanka," where they can get schnapps for seven rubles, or if they are better off, they go to the "Juura," where the favorite dishes are various kinds of herring. Conversation is limited to the weather, movies (tickets are eight rubles and the great sensation recently was the showing of some ancient "Tarzan" films), dates, and football. There are four churches in Liepaja but the authorities frown on the young people going there. The libraries provide little beyond the usual Communist writers, so most of the Liepajans spend their leisure hours in drinking, and they drink a great deal.

The large number of Russians (of Liepaja's 100,000 inhabitants, thirty to forty percent are Russians) have changed the face of the city. The Russians exercise their authority and flaunt their superiority over the Latvians and this results not only in tension, but often in outright conflict. Fights between the Latvian fishermen and Soviet sailors are common. Although the Russian sailors are unarmed, they have learned to use their leather belts with their Soviet Star buckles as a weapon with great virtuosity. The fights usually end by themselves and no official inquiries are subsequently made. The local Latvian constabulary is satisfied to remain uninvolved in incidents with the Russians, but the rift between Russians and Latvians is constantly growing.

The city of Liepaja is a fortress. The city limits can be entered only by special pass. Formerly, traveling in the Baltic States was not restricted, but now train passengers are regularly checked for documents. The roads to Liepaja are guarded and on the Liepaja-Grobina road the Russians have established a large control net in the Skede vicinity. Although the coastal areas have not been evacuated, there is a 200 meter safety zone which is off limits for everyone. It is guarded by border posts with dogs, and even fishermen entering the zone to get wind directions are followed and investigated. The refugees are convinced that at present the only ones who can escape from Latvia are therefore the fishermen. A military airport has been built near Lake Liepaja and no strangers are allowed in that area. The Liepaja shipyards have been repaired, new docks constructed, and large scale activity is taking place there now.

Resistance, Active and Passive

It is difficult to say whether passive resistance still exists. Every incident in a workshop causing damage to machines

Flight to Freedom

or tools is officially classed as sabotage, and punishment is swift and severe. If a fisherman pours dirty water into a fuel tank by mistake, the sentence is three years. Nevertheless, it is impossible to determine how many of these "errors" are accidental, and how many purposeful. The escapees do not talk about active resistance. The only incident mentioned in this connection is the placing of a time bomb in the tribunes for the Communist Parade in Liepaja in 1948. The bomb was incorrectly timed, however, and exploded a day ahead of schedule, injuring no one. Twenty-seven people were sentenced to prison because of the incident.

The escapees describe Latvia as a silent place, where people dare to talk only of general things. Only the elderly women, standing in the queues in front of stores and markets, are the exception to this rule. They discuss prices and complain about the scarcity of goods, comparing conditions with those during Latvian independence. These old women do not seem to be afraid and in most cases are not molested. It was through one of these marketplace conversations that one of the escaped fishermen overheard the Voice of America broadcasts being mentioned. At first he thought it was only old women's gossip, but when he heard the same thing a second time, he decided to listen and find out for himself.

A good part of the population hopes for war and a

change, because, they say, "Things can't go on like this." But about what changes could or should be effected, they are not clear. The older people do not want to go through war again and are prepared to continue their lives accepting things as they are. Middle-aged people dream about an independent Latvia, which they can remember, but they too think changes will be necessary for the future. They consider Latvia too small to remain alone and believe a common economic and defense system would be necessary for the Baltic States. This feeling has been reinforced because the boundaries have already been abolished by the USSR. The younger people are vague and confused in their opinions. It is generally clear that conditions are better outside, but there is no program for the future, and the prevailing feeling seems to be that war will come some day and "everything will change."

One of the escapees, whose father had been in the Latvian fleet, had read Lenin's works and a few books printed during the independence period, and the comparison of what the books said with the reality he had seen made him think that "there is something in this regime [the Soviet] and propaganda that does not seem to fit together, something that is being hidden," but it might not remain hidden for long, for the five fishermen from Liepaja have made good their flight to freedom.

Conscience and Communism

I. THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE CHURCH

Communism implicitly and explicitly denies the existence of a choice between two authorities, one temporal, the other spiritual. Implicitly, because the fundamental tenets of materialism cannot be reconciled with any belief in a greater spiritual power. ["Marxist materialism . . . is the implacable enemy of religion." (Lenin)] Explicitly, because the organized Church has, through history, been a threat to any State which demands absolute control over the individual's will and conscience.

Facing a unique religious situation in each of the Iron Curtain countries, the Communist governments adapted their timing and methods to suit the "climate" of the country concerned. In a survey of several captive countries, we see how the standard methods of Church and religious persecution have been and are being applied: persecution of the Church hierarchy, secular indoctrination of youth, infiltration of Church hierarchy [and its control and use], and the closing of churches, seminaries, and other Church organizations.

Romanian Religious Freedom

Freedom of conscience and Church, Communist style, was proclaimed in a very significant article written by Romanian, Valerian Zaharia, former Iron Guardist and presently the Orthodox Bishop of Oradea. *Universul* (Bucharest), September 28, 1951, published this article entitled, "The Life of the Denominations in the RPR," in which he bitterly denounced the religious life during the pre-Communist era and then continued:

"Under the 1948 Constitution there is the fullest religious liberty and . . . equality among all denominations and the elimination of all unjust privileges. . . . [The Orthodox Church] taking advantage of the broad religious liberty granted to it, reorganized its statutes in accordance with its dogma, traditions and canons . . .

[and] owing to its reorganization . . . could proceed with the work of restoring the unity of the Church in Transylvania [which was] torn asunder by the intrigues of the Vatican and the Vienna Imperial Court in 1700." [The author refers to the forcible union of the Uniate or Greek Catholic Church with the Romanian Orthodox Church.]

With reference to religious organizations in Romania today, Zaharia writes:

"The Orthodox Church in the RPR has three theological institutes, one in Bucharest, one in Cluj and one in Sibiu; a monastic seminary at the Neamt Monastery; two monastic seminaries for nuns at the Convents of Plumbuita and Agapia; schools for religious training in Bucharest, Galati, Sibiu, Suceava, Oradea Mare, Roman, Craiova, Caransebes, and at the Cozia Monastery, all State supported. . . . [The Catholic Church] enjoys the same liberty as all other denominations under Article 27 of the 1948 Constitution. . . . The People's government restored to Catholicism its ancient autonomy through the Statute of March 15, 1951. . . . Both at Targu-Mures, in 1950, and at Cluj, in 1951, the Catholic clergy and the faithful of Romania expressed their gratitude to the government for the religious liberty accorded and for the material support received . . . in the task of rebuilding a new life and in the struggle for peace. . . .

"Protestant and neo-Protestant cults . . . [who] have integrated themselves into the new rhythm of democratic life . . . have joined in a federation and each of these denominations has its own press. . . ."

The following is only a partial list of Romanian Church leaders arrested since 1947:

Mgr. Augustin Pacha, Roman Catholic Bishop of Timisoara, aged 83. Sentenced to 18 years hard labor as a "Vatican spy."

Mgr. Valeriu Frentiu, Greek Catholic Bishop of Oradea Mare, aged 76. Died in prison.

Mgr. Vasile Aftenie, Greek Catholic Bishop of Alba Iulia. Died in prison.

Mgr. Marton Aron, Roman Catholic Bishop of Alba Iulia. Reported dead.

Mgr. Anton Durcovici, Roman Catholic Bishop of Jassy. Deported.

Mgr. Josif Schubert, Roman Catholic Rector of church in Bucharest. Sentenced as "Vatican spy" to life at hard labor.

Mgr. Adalbert Gajdassy, Rector of the Roman Catholic Alba Iulia Theological Seminary. Imprisoned.

Mgr. Nifon Criveanu, Orthodox Metropolitan Archbishop of Oltenia. Imprisoned.

Mgr. Lucian Triteanu, Orthodox Bishop of Roman. Imprisoned.

Mgr. Cosma Petrovici, Orthodox Bishop of the Lower Danube. Imprisoned.

Mgr. Iuliu Hossu, Greek Catholic Bishop of Gherla and Cluj. Deported.

Mgr. Alexander Cisar, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bucharest. Deported.

Rev. Staeder, Lutheran Bishop of Sibiu. Arrested and escaped to Germany in 1948.

Marco Benveniste, Former President of the Romanian Zionists. Reportedly deported to Russia.

Clement Horen, Rector of the Armenian Church in Bucharest. Imprisoned.

Muedin Abdul-Hamid, Leader of the Moslems of Dobrogea. Imprisoned.

"Peace Priests" In Hungary

When the Communists gained control of Hungary in 1947, they faced a strong tradition of Catholic and Protestant religious instruction in the schools. The main goal of the Communists has always been to break the Hungarian Catholic Church from the Vatican and replace resisting priests with so-called "peace priests" and in Hungary today they have attempted to achieve this goal. Schools and seminaries have been closed, teachers and priests "reeducated," new textbooks introduced, and parents discouraged from enrolling their children for religious instruction. On July 21, 1951, the Hungarian Catholic Bishops were forced to take the oath of allegiance to the Communist government, and all Bishops were placed under surveillance by the State Office for Church Affairs. A recent Hungarian exile comments on the situation in Hungary today:

"The regime is striving to win over the young priests; however, the pseudo-Catholic periodical *A Kereszt* [The Cross] is constantly attacking the young priests, especially the seminary students for 'their undisciplined attitude which recognizes no authority.'

"The seminaries at Szombathely, Veszprem, and Hence have been dissolved and the leaders of several seminaries have been arrested. In Kecskeket and Szeged seminaries have been established in which young Communists are trained by 'peace priests'. . . . The seminaries in Esztergom, Kalocsa and Eger will be permitted to function this fall, but their curricula will be determined by the State. Professors will be chosen from the 'peace priests' and only 'reliable' students permitted to continue their studies.

"In principle, religious instruction is permitted in the schools; however, due to increasing terror, only 11 percent of the parents have dared to enroll their children for religious instruction. The papers are ever alert to attack any priest who tries to make unauthorized contact with the youth."

For example, on July 1, the Budapest pedagogical periodical, *Kozneveles*, wrote:

"Under the guise of religious instruction, a number of priests try to incite our pupils against the People's Democracy and its laws. . . . In Magyarceg they distributed forbidden Fascist books among the Uttoroks (Communist school children's organization). In Kalocsa, the religion teacher, when talking about good and evil, listed the Chairman of the Local Council among the evil."

The People's Church

The Bulgarian Communist press seldom publishes information on the activities of the Churches in that country other than the brief announcements of Church participation in campaigns for the "defense of peace" or in meetings with representatives from other Satellite Churches. However, exile sources indicate that religion and the Church still fulfill an important function in the lives of the Bulgarian people in spite of State attempts to subjugate the Church. A Bulgarian physician who escaped in June reports:

"Religion still presents a stumbling block in the Communist attempt to Sovietize Bulgaria. Along with the fundamental problem of worship, the traditions so deeply associated with it are an inconvenience to the Communists. The greatest pressure is still exerted on the Orthodox Church, while the government pretends to favor religious minorities and denominations. . . . On the surface, there does not appear to be any interference in the purely religious affairs of the Mohammedans and the Jews; the traditional rituals are carried on in the usual way. However, nine-tenths of the Jewish population has emigrated to Israel. . . .

"Catholics and Protestants are subjected to constant surveillance. . . . Protestant leaders such as Mishkoff, Ziapkoff, and Ivanov, successors to American missionaries who played a great role in the national revival in Bulgaria, are now in prison. . . . The present persecution of the Protestant leaders, all of them Bulgarians, is an attempt to smear the revered memory of these American missionaries. . . . The Americans are portrayed as world aggressors and, therefore, the Bulgarian Protestant leaders who are under American influence must be treated as enemies of the people.

"The Orthodox Church, which ministers to the majority [85 percent] of the Bulgarian population, is now supported entirely by public contributions, as all State funds have been cut off. . . . Recently, ministering in the Bulgarian Orthodox Church has been practiced more as a means of making a livelihood than as a spiritual devotion. Using this weakness, the Communist government has attempted to limit Church influence by making the priesthood a subject of ridicule. . . . [however] the people have rallied behind and supported the clergy.

... The general stand of the Orthodox clergy has enraged the Communists ... priests have been sent to forced labor camps and Metropolitans have been persecuted and imprisoned. ... The present martyrs of the Orthodox Church have revived its role ... as a people's Church.

"The Bulgarian people may be easy-going in their religious devotion, but they cling tenaciously to the traditions of the Church. Although all things connected with the Church are branded as reactionary, baptism still goes on secretly. ... Church marriages, especially in Sofia, are becoming rarer, but more than 99 percent of the dead receive burial ceremonies. ...

"Most Bulgarians are named for Saints whose days appear on the Orthodox Calendar. Name-days are strictly kept. On several occasions the Central Committee of the Communist Party has raised the question of abolishing the practice but even Communists diligently observe these days. ...

"The people are hungry for the Orthodox Calendar. Last December, when it was rumored that the Holy Synod would print only 5,000 copies, there was a rush at the Synod's bookstore. A second edition of the Calendar was published in notebook form. The Synod had been forced to put a Communist slogan on the cover page [of both editions]. ...

"In spite of the coercion exerted, the places of worship are packed as never before. They are the only public forums where a man is free of the constant Communist propaganda. The people may not have become more religious, but their very presence in Church offers an opportunity for expressing at least mute protest against the regime."

Poland and the Vatican

Although the anti-religious campaign has been slower in predominantly Catholic Poland than in other captive countries, it has been steady and determined. The failure to stabilize the Church Administration in the Polish Recovered Territories (95 percent Catholic) has served as a focal point for the regime's anti-ecclesiastical propaganda. For this reason, Primate Wyszyński's recent decrees establishing [by order of the Holy See] the Chapter in Wrocław and the new powers of the acting Bishop in Gorzów are hailed as victories for the Catholic Church.

According to an agreement concluded between the Polish Episcopate and the Communist Government on April 14, 1950:

"The Polish Episcopate states that economic, historic, cultural and religious reasons and also historic justice demand that the Recovered Territories should belong to Poland forever. ... [On this premise] the Episcopate shall address a request to the Apostolic See that those Church Administrations now holding the rights of residential bishopric shall be converted into permanent episcopal ordinariates."

However, during these past two years, the Vatican has refrained from authorizing Polish Primate Wyszyński to appoint Bishops for the Recovered Territories, because the political aspects of the new frontier have not been clearly resolved.

It now appears that the Vatican has made the first move toward the *de facto* recognition of the situation in the Recovered Territories, for on May 29, 1952, Primate Wyszyński installed the Chapter in the Cathedral of Wrocław and read the following decree:

"In consideration of the fact that the Polish Catholics desire the restoration of the glory of the liturgical cult in the Wrocław Cathedral ... and considering also the welfare of the Wrocław Archdiocese, which is in need of a team of priests provided for by the Canon Law, a congregation of priests ... [is appointed] which may act as a substitute ruling body during the vacancy of the Episcopal chair ... whose task it is to increase the ecclesiastical authority and to consolidate the unity of the clergy. ... By virtue of the special permission granted us by the Holy See, we restore the Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Wrocław, and confer hereby upon the following priests the titles of prelates and canons. ..."

A further indication of the new Vatican policy is seen in a decree on the new canonical rights of the Capitular-Vicar [acting Bishop] of Gorzów [also in the Recovered Territories]. *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Cracow), June 29, 1952, published the following report:

"For the purpose of strengthening the canonical power of the Polish ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Western Territories, and in conformity with the Agreement of April 14, 1950 ... His Excellency, the Primate of Poland ... conferred further canonical rights upon the Capitular-Vicar of Gorzów. The new authorization enables the nominee to govern the diocese independently according to the Code of Canon Law. It bestows upon the nominee certain rights of the Bishop, and imposes upon him all the duties attached to this office.

"This decree also allows the Capitular-Vicar at Gorzów to celebrate the pontifical masses in liturgical episcopal dress. The decree was issued by His Excellency, the Primate of Poland for the purpose of strengthening the Church in the Western Territories.

"The priests and the faithful of the Gorzów diocese received with joy the news about the rights conferred upon their ecclesiastical superior."

Czechoslovakia's "Enlightenment"

In the latter part of June, the Czechoslovak Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge was established in Prague. The inauguration of this Society, judging from the activities of its Soviet counterpart, marks a new and important stage in the long range process of propagating the Marx-Lenin-Stalin gospel. Minister of Information and Enlightenment Kopecký, in his speech before an audience of the country's cultural leaders, stressed the importance of the Society in a new relationship between the regime and the Churches, and stated what appears to be the most concrete and immediate task of the new anti-religious drive, a systematic campaign to induce "progressive people" to discard their "reactionary concepts of the Churches." *Literární Noviny* (Prague), June 28, quotes Kopecký's speech:

"... I especially want to stress the major task of the Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge. It is the fight against religious obscurantism, superstition, and against the reactionary concepts of the Churches. . . . Churchgoers at Church ceremonies . . . are people who are not truly religious but are merely pretending hypocrites. . . . They attend Church only to prove their opposition to the People's Democracy and to Socialism, to find courage in Church and to pray for new bloodshed and war. . . . They make the sign of the Cross instead of raising their arm in the Fascist greeting and instead of colorful American ties and other symbols, they pin a Cross on their lapels. . . . They misuse democratic freedom of conscience, the freedom of religion, the freedom of Church services in attempting reactionary provocations and in plotting reactionary, subversive ideas . . . we have our own opinions about such church-goers . . . and it is only natural that in the fight against such enemies . . . we refrain from nothing, not even from entering the so-called sacred soil of the Churches and monasteries. . . . We are supported by honest, loyal Catholics as well as by all patriotic priests in this fight against the plots of Vatican agents and American imperialists. . . .

"Then there are people—frequently simply working people who lack knowledge and conviction—who believe in the religion of superstitions. . . . These people are backward. . . . Believing in a supernatural creator, in a supernatural director of human fate, they are the bearers of the religious, idealistic world concept of exploiting the backward classes. They are in conflict with the laws of human progress. . . . Captives of the past, they adhere to the religious world view because they have not been taught . . . the progressive world view of Marxist-Leninism. . . .

"The Society . . . aware of its duties of spreading dialectical materialism, takes over the task previously in the hands of the atheist movement [Association of Proletarian Atheists]. We assure the workers of the atheist movement, whose past activities have our full admiration, that we shall not neglect the tasks which they performed, but that we, in the Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge, shall put them on a broader political and scientific basis and make them far more effective. . . . It is important for us to have well-known atheist workers among the founders of the Society . . . which is being established by enthusiastic popular demand.

"[We must] do all in our power to win victory for our world view [and to defeat] all remnants of obsolete thinking, including religion. . . ."

A Czechoslovak exile, familiar with the Communist record of Church persecution in his country, comments on Kopecky's speech:

"The fight against religious obscurantism,' declared to be the main task for the new Society, is on a considerably wider basis than any action hitherto taken against the Churches. It no longer pretends to 'fight against Vatican influences,' and against the 'treacherous priests,' but directly attacks the 'religious world concept.' Apparently superseded are the 'patriotic priests,' the Catholic Action, and the atheist movement, groups



THE GREAT RESURRECTION

They agreed, the Atlantic
masters,
On a flimsy piece of paper
To assist in the resurrection
Of the SS monster.

Will this avert the crisis?
So the masters hope,
But all intrigues remain in vain
Miracles are even beyond the
Pope.

(From the Czechoslovak *Dikobraz* (Prague), July 13.)

which played the most important role in the relationship between the regime and the Churches from 1949 to 1952."

"Artistic Espionage"

Simultaneous with the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of Political and Scientific Knowledge, the Czechoslovak government arrested and brought to trial a large group of Catholic writers and intellectuals. This is particularly significant since there have been no major religious trials in Czechoslovakia during the last year and a half. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), July 5, reported on these trials, held before the State Court in Brno from July 2-4, 1952:

"Indicted for 'high treason and espionage activities' and sentenced were: Vaclav Prokupek, Dr. Stanislav Berounsky, Dr. Oldrich Albrecht, Ladislav Jehlicka, Dr. Bedrich Fucik, Dr. Miloslav Skacel, Ing. Ladislav Karhan, Professor Dr. Zdenek Kalista, Dr. Josef Knap, Ladislav Kuncir, Frantisek Krelina, Jan Zahradnick and others. . . . Among the defendants were many who, even at the time of the First Republic, were typical cultural reac-

tionaries. Knap, Krelina and Prokupek . . . deceived workers and farmers . . . with the purpose of disarming them spiritually and deterring them from fighting against their exploiters—the estate owners and wealthy farmers. Fucik, Zahradnické, Albrecht, Jehlicka and Berounsky contributed to the Fascist periodicals, *Rad*, *Akord* and *Obnova*, which heralded the Fascist ideology of the Vatican. . . . [They] slandered the revolutionary traditions of our people and our culture. . . . History professor Kalista forged our history. . . .”

A Czechoslovak exile makes the following comment:

“All of these writers and intellectuals belonged to the cultural movement, ‘Catholic Moderne,’ which exercised considerable influence on the spiritual life of the Czech nation. The sentenced are outstanding representatives of spiritual Catholicism in Czechoslovak literature. The most important poet of this group, Jan Zahradnické . . . reached the height of formal perfection in his poetry. Bedrich Fucik, a literary critic, led the way for this new type of literature. Knap, Krelina, and Prokupek were representatives of ruralism—the philosophy of spiritual union with the soil. . . . Zdenek Kalista, an expert on the Baroque, dealt with this period in numerous historical books and literary works. . . . L. Kuncir acted as the group’s main publisher . . . and Dr. Miloslav Skacel was guilty because he had been a generous benefactor of Catholic Modern Art.”

II. CAREER BY WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

As a result of the shortage of trained labor, the system of youth direction in the East European countries grows increasingly complex. The boy or girl graduating from high school in the summer of 1952 finds that even before final examinations, his potential as a unit in the Socialistic economy has been carefully assessed. He is told where and in what capacity he will be used, according to preliminary quotas and manpower rations for particular industries. In the event that he is to continue his studies, he will spend his summer vacation on a collective farm or in a factory “utilizing” the knowledge which he has acquired in the classroom. The Communist press plays its prescribed role as an instrument for soft-peddalling the coercive character of this system, and for whipping up enthusiasm and a sense of patriotic participation among the young people who must face an inexorable “central control” of their future.

In Czechoslovakia, students leaving school this summer were congratulated on the wonderful perspectives before them. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 21, declared:

“There is a broad and bright road open for youth, a road full of creative opportunities. Great and splendid tasks are expected of them in the Socialist construction projects, power plants, iron works, mines, factories, laboratories, forests and fields. . . . In the same way as we are planning the development of our economy, and precisely because of that, it is necessary to plan also for the distribution of the workers who are to be the moving power of this development. . . .”

This year the Czechoslovak government issued new and detailed orders describing the way in which school graduates are to be allocated to various industrial plants. After assignment to a particular plant, the graduate is bound to it by contract for a period of three years. *Rude Pravo*, June 21, outlined this procedure, characterizing it as a “method which in the Soviet Union today is absolutely natural”:

“The contracts which the graduates conclude with the plants are valid for three years. During this time the graduates are obliged to work in the plant prescribed for them, and in this way a practical utilization of their studies will be guaranteed. In the plants, this practice will contribute to the abolition of an unhealthy labor fluidity. After three years, the employees may make an agreement with the management of their plant as to whether or not they shall remain in the plant according to the social need or according to their own interests.

“The principals’ offices [in the schools] which, according to the government order of May 6, 1952, will carry out this allocation procedure, must make perfectly clear to all graduates the importance of and the reasons for this method. Factory managements, in cooperation with the principals’ offices, must take care of our new specialists, who come proudly to their new jobs as Socialist builders. . . .”

Month of Help-to-the-Republic

For college and university students who will return to their studies in the autumn, a special summer program is organized called “Month of Help-to-the-Republic”, in which all students not working elsewhere must participate as one of the conditions for readmission to classes. *Rude Pravo* quoted a Czechoslovak Press Bureau report on one part of this program scheduled to take care of the vacations of most of Czechoslovakia’s 40,000 university students:

“At the beginning of July, the first groups of Prague University students will leave Prague to fulfill their pledges in the framework of the ‘Month of Help-to-the-Republic’ program. Most of them are going to work on the construction of the Klement Gottwald Foundry in Kuncice.” *Lidova Democracie* (Prague), June 10, reported: “At the Agriculture and Forestry College in Prague, all students are already informed of their allocation in the compulsory vacation program. In accordance with the general contract concluded between the dean’s office and the Ministry of Agriculture, the jobs have been selected in such a way that through them agriculture students will become familiar with the conditions of production.”

The key point at which to carry out the planned selection, allocation and distribution of young people, either for work or further schooling, appears to be at the step between the schools of Grade II and Grade III, which approximates the division between junior and senior high school in the American system. Scholastic success and general intelligence of the pupil are secondary factors in the decision about his future life. The inclination of the pupil himself has only one function in the whole process of selection. It does not seem to influence to any important extent the final

decision; but the field in which he wishes to work or study, and his reasons for his preferences, according to *Vestnik*, (1952, No. 3), give "an insight into his understanding of the importance of economic and political tasks of the State." Press reports indicate that the class origin of the pupil plays a fundamental role in the screening, and that this is the part of the whole screening task which poses the most difficulties for the teachers commissioned to carry out the selections. *Rude Pravo* (Prague), June 27, reported:

"... one of the most difficult tasks of this year's final examinations was to obtain the required number of talented pupils for the Grade III schools. The task of the teachers lay in attracting to further study talented children of workers and working farmers, whom we want to have in our higher schools first of all. Often, it was the children who resisted, because they did not want to be separated from their classmates. A very able girl from a worker's family, for instance, wanted to be an unskilled worker just like her friends, and so forth. . . ."

The district and county National Committees determine for the schools which pupils are to be sent to various occupations and which to higher schools. *Rude Pravo's* article continued by noting the number of requests by parents to have the decisions changed, and mentions as an example one school which "changed the decision in as many as 40 cases on the parents' request."

A local source reports that an intensive drive to recruit teachers has failed:

"The teacher's college in Olomouc [central Czechoslovakia] has been unsuccessful in its attempt to attract students. The college opened a new course, which after four years' study, leads to the profession of 'worker-education', i.e., graduates would be eligible for positions as directors and principals of apprentices' boarding schools and similar institutions. During the whole registration period, despite the fact that no previous academic education was required, only two applicants appeared and the deadline for registration had to be extended."

The State's Choice

Narodna Mladej (Sofia), April 11, in an editorial anticipating the closing of the school year, reminded graduates that the choice of a profession is a "public matter". It is noteworthy that stress was laid particularly on attracting graduates to the teaching profession:

"The end of the scholastic year approaches. Each graduate has to choose a future profession through which he will take part in the building of Socialism in our Fatherland. The choice of a profession is not only a question of personal inclination. It is a public matter too. Each graduate should be directed by the needs of the People's Democratic country.

"For you, Comrade-graduates, the Party and the People's Government have secured great possibilities. You may be employed in the new plants and factories, in the Cooperative farms and enterprises. You may become agronomists, tractorists, doctors, engineers, technicians, officers and teachers.

"Stalin has said that the people's teachers are one of the most indispensable parts of the great army of the working classes. Following the example of the Komsomol youth, our graduates must wholeheartedly become teachers and educators of the youngest generation in our country—the future builders of Socialism and Communism.

"The participation of graduates in the building of Socialism is called by Michael Ivanovich Kalinin the 'battle.' 'That is why,' Kalinin advises, 'it is essential to define exactly your place in the building of Socialism.'"

Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia), June 12, reemphasized the nature of the graduate's obligations to the State, and warned Party organizations to guard against obstructive influence on the part of parents:

"The various Party and DUPY organizations must pay serious attention [to the choice of profession by our youth]. They must direct the youth and also the parents, who often are unenlightened in selecting their children's future profession, thus urging them to enter fields in which the children are neither interested nor able, or diverting them from the teaching profession."

Superior students who, by virtue of their success in competitive examinations are allowed to go on to more advanced study, must guarantee their services to their home communities for a specific period. *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia), June 13, reported:

"During the 1952-53 scholastic year, 15 per cent of the total number of new students at Sofia University, the Vulko Chervenkov Medical Academy, the I. P. Pavlov Medical School and the G. Dimitrov Agricultural College is reserved for candidates [from specific counties] who have successfully passed the examinations. The candidates from these particular counties are required to sign an agreement which obliges them to work for at least four years after their graduation in the . . . cooperative agricultural farms of these counties."

"The Party Wants Me"

As elsewhere, the students' vacation period is the object of contract between school faculties and factory managers. *Narodna Mladej* (Sofia), June 7, criticized laxity in the drawing up of these agreements:

"Every year hundreds of students from our institutes of higher learning spend a certain amount of time training in our plants, factories and cooperatives. There they learn from the experience of our distinguished workers in the people's economy, thus broadening their knowledge. This practice period for students during the summer season will start in the beginning of July. However, to date the deans of . . . [certain] faculties have not concluded one agreement with the management of the various enterprises where students are supposed to obtain their practical training. To a great extent, they are not serious about it, but assume that the promises made by the management of the various enterprises are sufficient. This attitude is incorrect. The signing of the agreement ensures the financial support of the students during their practical training . . . and for this reason

the signing and exact execution of the contract are of decisive significance for carrying out of the training."

Otechestven Front (Sofia), quoted a statement by Todor Stoichkov on his work in various enterprises, with this final observation:

"I am going to work where the Party wants me.

"I am working according to Soviet method, and the results are excellent."

Open Letter to Graduates

In Poland, Minister of Education Witold Jarosinski published in the June 24 issue of the Warsaw daily *Sztandar Mlodych* [Banner of the Youth] an "open letter" to high school graduates:

"... In selecting a vocation according to your abilities and inclinations, you should know of the large areas of work in the People's Poland which are open and which offer you great possibilities for the development of creative and executive talents. In choosing a career, you should take into consideration not only your own interests, but also the needs of our People's Fatherland, particularly in the technical sphere, in the mining and steel industry, which have a special role in the fulfillment of our glorious Economic Plan.

"You should seek new methods of work, actively participate in the social and political life of your environment, and try to influence it by your personal example. During your studies or your professional work, you should strengthen your ties with the Union of Polish Youth, which contributed to your education and prepared you for political life. The aim of the Union of Polish Youth is to assist the [Communist] Party—the leading force and the vanguard of our nation."

In order to guide the youth to those technical schools which are training experts urgently needed by the regime, special groups of professors and students in each technical school have been organized for the purpose of "acquainting the youth with the type of studies available." *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), May 21, reported:

"Recently the students of the Institute of Mines and Foundries organized several meetings with the Cracow secondary schools, at which they delivered lectures concerning programs and the importance of various fields of studies. Moreover, the students of the Institute of Mines and Foundries organize excursions for the higher classes of secondary schools to the classrooms of this Institute, where prospective students may get acquainted with the conditions and methods of learning. Many students from the Cracow secondary schools decided to enter the Institute during this coming school year.

"Recently, too, a group of professors from the State Institute of Geology went to Grybow, where they lectured to the local youth on geological studies. The members of the professors' group held conversations with schoolboys in the advanced classes with the result that many schoolboys decided to choose geology after graduation from high school."

Processing and selecting students at the university level

requires an elaborate network of recruiting commissions. *Trybuna Ludu*, April 16, described this apparatus:

"Following the method initiated last year, school, district or city recruiting commissions are in charge of selecting the candidates. This year the Presidia, as well as educational and cultural commissions of National Councils, will be engaged for the first time. At present, school commissions are already active. They will receive applications for admission to the universities from high school students who graduate this year. . . . In a short time, new district, city or borough recruiting commissions will be established. Their purpose will be to co-ordinate and control the activity of school commissions and to evaluate applications. These commissions will be composed of: the delegate of the Presidium of the National Council, who will be the chairman of the commission; the representative of the educational and cultural commission of the National Council, the representative of the district Council of Trade Unions, the district representative of the Union of Peasant Self-Help Organization, and a member of the district management of the Union of Polish Youth. All the work connected with the selection of candidates for higher learning will be coordinated in the different provinces by duly empowered plenipotentiaries of the National Council Presidium."

The opinion of these district commissions counts heavily; theoretically, however, admissions to the higher educational institutions is determined finally by the recruiting commission of the university itself, "according to the results of entrance examinations which start this year on August 9." In practice, the political record of the candidate is a decisive factor. A refugee who escaped from Poland in April, and who had previously sought admission to the Institute of Stomatology in Warsaw, describes her own experience:

"I tried, with the patronage of physicians I knew, to be interviewed personally by the chief of the department of stomatology in the Ministry of Public Health. This woman, wife of one of the leading Communists, has considerable influence in the selection of candidates. She was very kind and even tried to be helpful. 'The matter is simple,' she said, 'will you please obtain references from the Union of Polish Youth. You will then be admitted, probably without having to take an entrance examination.'"

Vigilance on Vacations

Scanteia Tineretului (Bucharest), organ of the U. T. M. [Union of Working Youth], carried an editorial on June 14 entitled "Let us organize the activity of students during the summer vacation." The article began by conceding that students who successfully passed their examinations should be allowed to rest in order to "renew their energies for the next academic year", and reminded regional U. T. M. committees that they were responsible for organizing sports, hiking trips and social activities:

"Our popular democratic regime takes care of students' rest. This summer over 6,000 students will go to recreation camps at the mountain or seashore resorts.

Many students, sons of working peasants, will spend their vacation in their native villages . . . but they will not be able to avoid a part in the villages' work and activities. . . . They can substantially help the U.T.M. organizations in their towns. They must become familiar with the Party and government decisions regarding the strengthening of the [January 28] monetary reform. U.T.M. students going to villages must combine their rest with civic activities. They must not forget even for a moment that it is their duty to help young working peasants to unmask the kulaks who will try to sabotage the harvest . . . and who try to obstruct the success of the monetary reform.

"This summer a great many students will go to various factories as well as to collective farms, state farms and machine-tractor stations. In some of these enterprises last year many students were not able to utilize on a practical level the knowledge they acquired from their academic courses, thus losing precious time. That is why the U.T.M. organizations in factories and farms must instruct the young members who come to work there at an early stage."

In Hungary, school authorities with the help of the DISZ [Communist Youth Organization] assign students to agricultural and industrial work during the summer vacation according to their physical condition. *Kozneveles* (Budapest), announced in its June 8 issue:

"This year, 36,000 high school students will participate in the great agriculture and construction drive. These

young people will experience the magnificence of creative work directly. They will become one with the great power installations, with the factories and buildings on which they have labored. Their work in production will determine the ultimate success of our educational system."

Compulsory summer labor is also extended to the younger students of the general schools. In most villages, immediately after the termination of the school year, work groups were organized from among the 6 to 14 year-olds. Pupils work in the fields under the supervision of their teachers. According to the decree, however, "when drawing up a contract with an enterprise, the director of the school makes it a point, that teachers cannot be made to work. The teachers' duty is to inspire the young workers, to watch them and to indoctrinate them constantly."

Under the title "After Examinations—Into Action", the Albanian newspaper *Rinia* (Tirana), May 24, reported:

"During the session of the Ninth Plenum of the Youth Association's Central Committee, students pledged themselves to work hard to achieve [highest grades]. . . . They also pledged that after summer examinations were over they would be at the disposal of the Organization to take part in the implementation of the Five Year Plan. When the meeting was over, a letter was sent to the Central Committee requesting that all students [of the Pedagogical Institute] be sent to work in the hydroelectric plant at Mat."

News Briefs

Fraudulent Resistance

During the Nazi occupation of Hungary, certificates of "good democratic conduct and resistance to the invaders" were circulated throughout the country. A refugee who recently arrived in Vienna reports a new twist in this practice, wherein people desiring protection from future consequences of their present conduct obtain certificates of resistance to the Communist regime:

"For many weeks the Political Section of the Hungarian Ministry of Defense has been trying to discover the identity of a band of forgers who have been selling, to members of the Army, police force and Communist Party, resistance certificates issued by 'foreign authorities.' This large-scale fraud came to light when a deserter from the Army was apprehended carrying a mimeographed resistance certificate in English and Hungarian. The text stated that the bearer 'is a member of the underground resistance movement in Hungary' and requests the Western military and civilian authorities to give him assistance. The document bears the seal of the Intelligence Department of a Western power, and the signatory for the above organization is the 'Command Staff of the Anti-Soviet Resistance Movement in Hungary.'

"The deserter purchased this certificate for 50 *forints* in a bar. The police soon found the seller, who is only an agent of the forgers; he got the certificates from an engraver in Budapest for 20 *forints* and sold them for 50-200 *forints*. He admitted having sold about 50 such certificates which were forged by the engraver and a language teacher, who have managed to escape. The investigating authorities estimate that several hundred Party functionaries, policemen and soldiers were taken in by this crude fraud. The scandal has not been mentioned in the press and investigations are carried out in great secrecy."

Indoctrination No Picnic

Even the charms of nature have a part in the Communist indoctrination program. The Sofia newspaper *Troud*, July 4, proposed a new technique for the inspiration of factory workers:

"Last year, the Regional Council of the Trade Unions in Bulgaria successfully used the mass picnics in the vicinity of Sofia for an immense cultural-educational work. In commemoration of the 70th birthday anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov, excursions were made to the tourist camps on Mt. Vitosha, Makotzevo, and other points of interest. During these outings, reports were read to the workers on the life and deeds of Georgi Dimitrov.

"This summer, conferences can be organized for exchanging production experiences by inviting the workers of two similar enterprises to attend a joint outing. There, amid the beauties of nature, the Stakhanovites and shockworkers can discuss their achievements and explain their production methods."

Taking Chances Encouraged

A refugee from Romania reports that national lotteries have been retained and even expanded in his homeland:

"The national lottery has been retained by the present regime because of the profits it can make from this form of gambling. In the city of Bucharest alone, lottery tickets can be bought at 500 special lottery shops and 5,000 tobacco shops. From each of the four national lotteries the government takes a flat 50 per cent gross minus operating expenses. Ticket retailers receive five per cent of their gross sales, and must hand over 45 per cent of this in tax to the government. Ticket sellers do not make much profit, but the people who are given the special concessions to sell lottery tickets are accorded

extra benefits such as rent reductions and liberal food ration allowances.

"The lottery is popular with citizens who, by hoarding gold and goods, still have some capital savings. These people are reluctant to parade their wealth in case its source should be questioned by the authorities. Therefore, by winning on a lottery ticket, they can go on a spending spree without exciting suspicion. People with money often buy winning tickets from holders for the amount of the prize, then collect the prize and feel free to spend the winnings.

"The Communists encourage people to gamble by radio, newspaper and poster advertisements and by placing lottery booths in every neighborhood. It is customary for the government to hold drawing in theaters in all parts of the country, thereby generating interest on the part of many who would not ordinarily consider buying lottery tickets."

Party Line Rules On Neckties

The May 23 issue of *Esti Budapest*, official organ of the Budapest Communist Party, reassured workers who question the position of the necktie in a class-conscious society:

"A worker from the Beloannis factory writes, 'Day after day I meet Comrades who do not approve of wearing neckties. These Comrades consider that wearing ties is a bourgeois affectation. I would like to know if this is true.'

"We assure Comrade Kalan from the Beloannis factory that he may wear a necktie without worry. . . . These doubts concerning neckties stem from a misguided idea that loyalty to the workers' class must be expressed in an untidy and slovenly appearance."

Jungle Law

Universul (Bucharest), June 18, in an article entitled, "For Youth—the Law of the Jungle" denounced Tarzan as the manifestation of the "new American superman": "The history of 20th century cannibalism will record, with the Aryan hero of Goebbels and Rosenberg, the new American superman Tarzan. . . . The new superman is an English nobleman's son who, rejecting civilization, decides to return to primitive life. . . ." The article continued:

"The Tarzan stories can be had very cheaply. In the Marshallized countries it is not even necessary to go to a bookstore; in any small shop, even in a grocery store, one may buy *Tarzan and the Leopard-Men*, *Tarzan and the Secret of Youth*, etc. The most destitute man can afford escapist intoxication with a cheap edition of Tarzan.

"To Tarzan, the peoples of Africa are only pitiable retarded wretches. He, as 'God of the Jungle,' will take care of, and dominate, the animals. . . . This is how Tarzan eats: 'The God of the Jungle chewed a piece of raw meat and grunted heavily. The leopard-man had heard lions devouring their prey. It sounded the same.' For the son of an Englishman, there could hardly be a better way of eating. . . . The only law which Tarzan recognizes is the law of force, cunning and ferocity. This

is the moral sphere in which the Wall Street bankers would like to educate the American, French, Danish, Italian or Belgian child so that he too may become a Tarzan and obey only the law of the jungle."

No Development

Prace (Prague), June 19, published a poem chiding amateur cameramen who persist in photographing their friends and families rather than preserving for posterity pictures of shockworkers, plants and new work methods:



He is our best amateur,
Photographing, day and night,
He is a real Stakhanovite
And progressive without fail.

Lately he has developed
Seven hundred pictures, if not more,
His father, brother, grand-dad and uncle
Won't overtake him, that's for sure.
The club, of course, furnished the materials—
Film and paper and chemicals.

What is this Stakhanovite activity?
What is the result of all this effort?
Pictures of shockworkers?
Pictures of plants or shifts?

Alas, no, that is not the result.
Twelve albums are already full of
Snapshots of children, trees and grass.
He does not look for subjects in the
factories and shops.
He does not understand, this prisoner of the past.

Workers Called to Account

Under the title "Socialist Bookkeepers—Brothers-in-Arms of the Working Class," an editorial in *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), June 11, dealt with the significance of keeping the books in a Socialist economy:

"Bookkeeping is indispensable even in capitalist countries; however, Socialist and capitalist bookkeeping are basically different. Capitalist bookkeeping is designed to conceal the truth and to exploit the workers, while Socialist records always show the truth without hiding the facts. Simple, clear, efficient Socialist bookkeeping, therefore, helps responsible managers to plan correctly and to see possible shortcomings and faults. It also often reveals hidden reserves which can be used for the benefit of the community. . . .

"The heads of bookkeeping departments have been invested with special rights and powers by the Government. They are third in administration, ranking after the general manager and the chief engineer. They are responsible for the financial management of a firm. However, their advice is very often disregarded, and financial measures are introduced without their consent. Many general managers do not have sufficient confidence in the bookkeepers. . . and when the bookkeepers tell them of shortcomings, they regard it as unnecessary faultfinding. . . . Although the great majority of bookkeepers are loyal and faithful workers of the People's Democracy and are working heart and soul for Socialist construction, they are looked down on in a number of firms. As a result of this, bookkeepers often feel themselves outside the firm; they withdraw and become uncertain.

"Factory Party organizations must devote more attention to bookkeepers and administrative workers and should help them in their difficulties and educate them politically. Administrative workers, on the other hand, should make administration more reliable than it is today and integrate it more closely with the production work of their firms. Bookkeepers should eliminate the last vestiges of capitalist bookkeeping methods and make them more simple, quick and efficient."

Beethoven's Message Amplified

Whereas in February, 1950, via Radio Budapest, the Hungarian Communists said of Beethoven that "he has composed only a single faultless opera, which has only one scene expressing the real Beethoven—[the Chorus of the *Slaves*], today they seem inclined to a more comprehensive view. *Uj Zenei Szemle*, Budapest monthly, commenting in its May issue on the Beethoven Festival in Berlin, stated:

"The German people are striving toward the same ideals for which Beethoven struggled in his art: to achieve inner and outer peace [*Missa Solemnis*], respect for the working classes [*Pastoral Symphony*], a prosperous future for the entire world [*Ninth Symphony*], freedom [*Fidelio*], self-realization for all humanity and the national unification of the German people."

What's Under the Big Top?

A young refugee's description of a recent circus performance in Bulgaria indicates that even the circus, which would not appear to be particularly adaptable to political exploitation, has shared the fate of all public entertainment in the Satellite countries:

"The town of Kirdzali at that time was full of workers from all over Bulgaria who were employed on various construction enterprises; therefore, the tent was always crowded and only a few places left unoccupied. At the entrance, everybody was handed a free program with the events listed on one page and a propaganda text entitled 'The Past and the Present' on the other. The show began with the band playing a Communist march. Then a man appeared, dressed in a black suit, white shirt and red tie. He delivered a speech to the audience which followed the line of the program text.

"The circus, he said, is now no longer a tool of capitalist propaganda; it serves lofty educational aims. Once art was persecuted and fettered by censorship. The artists were not free; they played in accordance with the program fixed by the government and were not allowed contacts with other circuses. Circus was once an entertainment for the rich. The price of tickets was so high that only well-to-do people like merchants and State officials could afford them.

"Now, the man continued, owing to the care of the Fatherland Front and the Communist Party, theaters, cinemas and circuses are supported and aided by the government. Places of entertainment are within reach of the entire population, and organized groups can get reductions. The theaters, cinemas and circuses totally serve the nation and the Communist Party. The artists are given training courses, free medical treatment and paid holidays. Artists may travel anywhere; they can go to the Soviet Union, and Soviet artists can come to Bulgaria. All that has been achieved in Bulgaria in the sphere of the arts is the gift of the Soviet Union from whose treasure of rich experience the Bulgarians may draw at will. The speech ended with a slogan about Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and world peace.

"The program of the circus performance included ten items. A Chinese performer was introduced by the announcer who declared that the public would now see a Chinese man who is no longer limited in the freedom of his movements, who is a free man in a free world, who can freely perform his profession and go wherever he pleases. There was a comic number played by clowns, one of them representing an American who went to a shop, bought something, then returned home and on unwrapping his package found that the goods were rotten. Another sketch parodied old times when rich people did nothing but drink and amuse themselves. A performance by a child acrobat was preceded by an announcement that 'now you will see how under present conditions children have the right to work and to develop their talents.'

"Circuses in Bulgaria were nationalized in 1949. Performers are now State employees with monthly salaries. This is advantageous to average artists, who are regularly paid and have more stable living conditions. Artists with special talents are dissatisfied, because they earned more

when profit depended on individual drawing power. Communist control over the circus is achieved through the Communist Party Committee and the Trade Unions. At least two agents of *Darjavna Sigurnost* [State Security Police] are posted with each circus."

Hungarian Deportations Resumed

Radio Belgrade, July 2, announced that a new concentration camp has been located in Hungary:

"Budapest sources have revealed that a concentration camp has been erected near Radvanc, with a capacity of between 15,000 and 20,000 people. Persons who have been sentenced are classified by a commission into five groups according to their capacity for work. Those of the first three groups, which include prisoners with more than 60 percent capacity, are detailed to labor battalions, and the remaining groups are used for work in the camp."

Hungarian escapees report that a new wave of deportations started in mid-June, and believe that the Radvanc concentration camp may be one of the new centers organized to take care of the deportees. These deportees are partly from industrial cities and partly from the Austrian and Yugoslav frontier zone, evacuated for their political unreliability and because of military constructions in the border area.

Kolkhoz Leader Dies

Rahva Haal (Tallinn), May 18, announced the death of the director of Estonia's kolkhoz program, Mihhail Vlassovits Dorogov:

"After a long illness the faithful son of Lenin-Stalin's Party, Mihhail Vlassovits Dorogov, died on May 16. . . . In February, 1941, Vlassovits was elected second secretary and a year later first secretary of the regional committee of Balaschov in the Saratov region, U.S.S.R. . . . At the beginning of 1945, he was sent to Estonia as the Deputy Minister of Agriculture for the Estonian S.S.R. He took an active part in the implementation of agrarian reform and in the promotion and organization of kolkhozes. For the services he rendered to his home country [Russia], Comrade Dorogov was awarded the Order of the Work Red Banner with medals 'For Courageous Labor in the Great Patriotic War [1941-45]'; 'For the Victory over Germany in the Great Patriotic War', and the 'Honorary Letter of the Supreme Council of the E.S.S.R.'"

Vacations Spurned

The Sofia newspaper *Troud*, June 10, posed the question of why Bulgarian workers are not taking advantage of the "wonderful" vacation facilities available to them under the People's Regime:

"The department in charge of resorts and rest homes at the Central Committee of Trade Unions has seen to it

that vacations in our country, as in the Soviet Union, are wisely and profitably spent. At all workers' resorts, libraries and educational clubs have been organized, lectures on scientific and political problems are delivered, and movies from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are shown regularly. . . .

"In spite of all these wonderful programs, the department of resorts and rest homes cannot fulfill its yearly vacation plan. During the winter many of the resorts were almost empty. At the resort home in the village of Vurshetz, which can accommodate 200 persons for each vacation shift, only five or ten visitors registered. The situation is just the same even now at the beginning of the summer season. For the first half of May this year, the Trade Union of the Construction Workers received 170 vacation cards, while only 19 construction workers have checked in at the resorts. The remaining 151 cards were returned to the management unused. Out of 272 cards for the second half of May, 197 have been returned. Many of the vacation cards for post office employees, medical workers, miners, and textile employees are being sent back."

Light Reading Required

A clerk from the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry who recently escaped to Istanbul reports that new steps are being taken to further the sale of Russian books in Bulgaria:

"The pressure on readers to buy Russian books steadily increases. For instance, in Sofia, the club of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently held a meeting of the personnel to discuss office business. During an interval, several young men handed out copies of Russian novels and other works, offering them for sale. There were, of course, some activists at the meeting who set an example by buying a book or two and inviting the others to do the same. All the people present were compelled to buy books, and if they did not have enough money on hand they were asked to sign statements obliging them to pay for the books through salary deductions. It is said proudly on such occasions that 'in Bulgaria it is not necessary to have money in one's pocket in order to buy books, as it is in capitalist countries.' Through this device, 123 Russian books were sold at this meeting to people, many of whom can read little or no Russian."

Marvels of Insect Anatomy

The Yugoslav newspaper *Pavliha* (Ljubljana), May 17, printed the following joke satirizing Soviet scientific reasoning:

"A Soviet scientist was giving a lecture on fleas at a university [in Prague]. He placed a flea on his left palm and ordered it to jump to his right hand. The flea obeyed. Then he ordered it to jump from his right hand to his left palm. The flea again obeyed. Finally he took the flea between his fingers and extracted its legs. He put the flea on his right palm and ordered it to jump to his left hand. The flea did not move. 'That', concluded the professor, 'is scientific proof that the flea loses its hearing when we extract its legs.'"

Festival Abolished

A refugee correspondent gives the following account of the gradual suppression of a national festival in Communist-occupied Latvia:

"The Ligo festival has been celebrated by the Latvian people for many centuries. The longest day of the year [June 24] was the occasion for the oldest and most spectacular celebration in Latvia. By the 13th century Ligo Day was so firmly rooted in the national culture that the Christian crusaders did not even try to abolish it but instead attempted to change its pagan character by renaming it for John the Baptist, calling it St. John's Day.

"During the first years of Soviet occupation, the Communists still permitted the Latvians to carry on this tradition, and even used the festival for propaganda purposes. In 1947, Sudrabkalns, a Communist writer, asserted in the Riga newspaper *Cina*: 'The Latvian people have found a new fern blossom—Marxism-Leninism and the weapons which make the Soviet people strong.' This is a reference to an old belief that a certain variety of fern blooms only on St. John's night and that the finder of this blossom has also found happiness. A year later the same author wrote again in *Cina*: 'On Ligo Day we shall sing of the shockworkers and Stakhanovites and will mock at the tale-tellers and saboteurs. . . .' In 1949, Sudrabkalns told Radio Riga listeners: 'Years ago, the father of smiling John [the Baptist] was a kulak who unscrupulously choked his servants. The beer jug he held in his hand was filled with the tears of the poor. . . .'

"In 1950 there were no articles in the newspapers, no speeches, and the only recognition of St. John's Day was in a few songs recited over the radio. In 1951, the day was met with official silence. And this year brought no change in policy. Radio Riga did not even mention the old Ligo Day. This festival, so faithfully celebrated for centuries under foreign occupations, has finally been suppressed."

New Soviet Steps

Vecherni Novini (Sofia), July 3, announced that new Communist-approved folk dances will be demonstrated before the Bulgarian population this summer:

"This summer thousands of working people and students at the various workers' and students' resorts will be the first to try out the new steps of the ballroom folk dances created by prominent Bulgarian choreographers through the initiative of the Committee for Science, Art and Culture. The young vacationers will be the first to replace the decadent Western dances—swing, foxtrot, rumba—with the new dances based on themes from our folklore. Among those approved by the Committee for Science, Art and Culture are *kulka*, named for a *hora* popular in the region of Kula; *buchvanka*, in honor of a North Bulgarian *hora* of the same name; the slow dance *pirina*, named for a *hora* popular in the mountainous region of Pirin; and *belitza*, *eleno mome*, *nastradin*, *pas de grace*, all based on Soviet dances.

Artistic collectives [groups] will visit all summer resorts and camps and will demonstrate the new Bulgarian dances, created after the dances of the Soviet peoples."

Mausoleum Brought Up-to-Date

One of the points of departure for Soviet propaganda in Bulgaria is the Russo-Bulgarian friendship dating from Bulgaria's liberation in 1878 from the Ottoman empire. Soviet attempts to link this liberation with the "liberation" of September, 1944, find visible expression in the recent changes described by a Bulgarian lawyer who escaped late in May:

"The tower mausoleum erected many years ago on the summit of the mountain of St. Nicolas is the largest monument in Bulgaria and can be seen from valleys for miles around. It was built to honor the Bulgarian patriots who lost their lives in the Russo-Turkish war. Last April this monument underwent a change of motif. Today the base is decorated with a hammer and sickle. A memorial tablet, set up at the entrance above the stairs, refers to the recent liberation of Bulgaria by the Russian Army."



Missing Member

One of Estonia's most prominent athletes, the champion shot-putter Heino Lipp, is not participating in the Olympic Games. Soviet spokesmen in Helsinki have declared that his absence is due to illness, but Stockholm sources reported July 22:

"Heino Lipp has recently been seen in Kiev taking part in various inter-Soviet competitions. Lipp is unmarried, and it is probable that the MVD dare not let him out of the country, in case the temptation to escape prove too strong. This is all the more likely since Lipp was not permitted to participate either in the 1950 European Championships in Brussels."

Out of Hand

The following joke at the expense of the judiciary in Poland is popular among refugees:

"A magistrate in Poland was interrogating the defendant. 'You are accused of having transgressed paragraph 27,' said the judge to the arrested man.

" 'Citizen judge,' replied the accused, scarcely able to contain his indignation, 'I am also a jurist and I am aware that paragraph 27 concerns the crime of arson, but I did not set fire to anything.'

" 'Well, yes, you are right,' admitted the judge, 'therefore I am now accusing you of having violated paragraph 42.'

" 'That is also impossible, citizen judge,' said the arrested man, 'paragraph 42 deals with automobile theft; however, I do not even know how to drive, and this can easily be proved.'

"Then the judge, distinctly irritated and on the verge of losing his temper, cried, 'Citizen, please do not make trouble. If you are such a good jurist then you know the criminal code. Find yourself a suitable paragraph, with only one condition—that its violation calls for a sentence of three years' imprisonment.'"

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FREE EUROPE, INC.

OFFICERS

JOSEPH C. GREW, *Chairman of the Board*
C. D. JACKSON, *Vice Chairman of the Board*
JOHN C. HUGHES, *Chairman, Executive Committee*
H. B. MILLER, *President*
FREDERIC R. DOLBEARE, *Vice President*
SPENCER PHENIX, *Vice President and Treasurer*
THEODORE C. AUGUSTINE, *Secretary and Assistant Treasurer*

DIRECTORS

A. A. Berle, Jr.	C. D. Jackson
Lucius D. Clay	H. B. Miller
Frederic R. Dolbeare	Arthur W. Page
Julius Fleischmann	Spencer Phenix
Joseph C. Grew	George N. Shuster
John C. Hughes	H. Gregory Thomas
Charles Zimmerman	

MEMBERS

Clarence L. Adcock	Joseph C. Grew
Raymond Pace Alexander	Charles R. Hook
Frank Altschul	Palmer Hoyt
Laird Bell	John C. Hughes
A. A. Berle, Jr.	C. D. Jackson
Francis Biddle	Henry R. Luce
Robert Woods Bliss	Joseph V. McKee
Robert F. Bradford	Web Maddox
Harry A. Bullis	H. B. Miller
James B. Carey	Frederick Osborn
Harry Woodburn Chase	Arthur W. Page
Lucius D. Clay	Spencer Phenix
William L. Clayton	DeWitt C. Poole
Clark M. Clifford	Reuben B. Robertson
Cecil B. DeMille	George N. Shuster
Frank R. Denton	John A. Sibley
Frederic R. Dolbeare	Spyros Skouras
William J. Donovan	Charles P. Taft
Allen W. Dulles	Levering Tyson
Dwight D. Eisenhower	DeWitt Wallace
Mark F. Ethridge	Abbott Washburn
James A. Farley	W. W. Waymack
Julius Fleischmann	Walter H. Wheeler, Jr.
Virginia C. Gildersleeve	Mrs. Quincy Wright
William Green	Darryl F. Zanuck
	Charles Zimmerman

Research Projects on Eastern Europe

Prepared by the National Committee for a Free Europe

The studies listed below have recently been completed by members of the Research and Publications Service. They are available in limited quantities and may be obtained by writing NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, National Committee For a Free Europe, 110 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

Religious Persecution in the Baltic Countries, (Research and Publications Service, 1952) 26 pages, mimeographed. As Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have receded farther and farther behind the Iron Curtain with their progressive integration into the Soviet Union, information from them has become very scarce. The value of this study lies not only in its precise picture of conditions in each country, but also in its implied prediction for the future of the more recently captured countries. The report shows that freedom of worship is guaranteed constitutionally; in practice, however, Party surveillance and individual badgering at religious services have increased. Church edifices have been expropriated for civic and Communist Party purposes, and in some instances desecrated. In many cases, clerical personnel and their families have been sent to forced labor camps and often to exile in Siberia. With the addition of atheistic propaganda, the final picture, as presented in this study, shows the virtual elimination of the Church in the lives of the people.

Price 25 cents.

Russian Cultural Penetration in Hungary—Volume III, I. Csicsery-Ronay, (Research and Publications Service, 1952) 44 pages, mimeographed. The first and second editions of this study of Soviet cultural penetration within Hungary, covering 1950 and 1951, have now been brought up to date in Volume III, dealing with the theater, films, literature, press, music and the fine arts. Communist methods of transforming the country's scientific life and education are described. Also, there is a summary of official directives for compulsory instruction in the Russian language, which is becoming a prerequisite for advancement in civilian and military life. The report concludes that the cultural program has lost none of its intensity; rather, it has become practically an accepted routine. There are indications, however, that the artists' reactions to these cultural directives are being expressed in inner resentment which manifests itself in occasional deviations from official instructions.

Price 15 cents.

"All-National" Discussion of Draft of New Polish Constitution, (Research and Publications Service, 1952) 10 pages, mimeographed. A draft of the new Constitution, adopted by the Constitutional Commission on January 23, 1952, was published by the regime press on January 27, 1952. Concomitantly, a resolution was adopted and announced by the Constitutional Commission that "an all-national discussion on the draft . . . should take place in the country." This study contains accounts of the ensuing country-wide discussion, together with the Polish Communist press reaction and an interpretation of the pseudo-democratic procedure involved. The material serves as the basis for an understanding of the subsequent debate in the Sejm, where the new Constitution was presented on July 18, 1952 and adopted on July 22.

Price 15 cents.

Purges in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, (Research and Publications Service, 1952) 32 pages, mimeographed. This study gives a summary of the purges in the Czechoslovak Communist Party during the years 1949-1952, with a brief introductory chapter dealing with Party history from 1945-1950. The various methods of purge are described, including preliminary screening of individuals and the resultant periodic mass purges. Names of outstanding purgees, insofar as they are known, are listed. There is, at the end, an analysis of the general direction these purges are taking in Czechoslovakia today.

Price 15 cents.



National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.
110 W. 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

